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# PREFACE.

The completion of the Seventeenth Volume of this Series of the Christian Reformer, gives the Editor the opportunity of making his grateful acknowledgments to the various friends who have hitherto so efficiently aided him in his work, and of asking the Unitarian public to give a more liberal support to this monthly exponent of their principles and aims. The addition of a hundred subscribers to the Magazine would relieve him from the necessity of continuing to accept the pecuniary aid of those friends who, regarding the Christian Reformer as a valuable contribution to Unitarian Christianity and religious liberty, have hitherto carefully protected him from pecuniary loss. A work honestly devoted to so good a cause is surely entitled to receive from the Unitarians of Great Britain and Ireland the amount of support which will make it self-sustaining. If every Unitarian minister who can do it will secure one or two additional subscribers, all that the Editor asks will be obtained. The support solicited need in no degree interfere with that already given to and so well deserved by the weekly organs of our religious denomination. The full and interesting reports of intelligence given by the Inquirer and the Unitarian Herald, will hereafter relieve the Editor from devoting any considerable portion of the Magazine to this department. He proposes to substitute for detailed reports a monthly digest (accompanied occasionally by brief notes) of religious intelligence. This arrangement will enable him to make other changes which he believes will be regarded as improvements. The signs of the times call the friends of a pure and free Christianity to zealous and united action. It has been and will hereafter be the one aim of the Christian Reformer to foster their enlightened zeal and to promote its success.

November 25, 1861.

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THE

# CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

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## SOME ACCOUNT OF THE CODEX SINAITICUS, RECENTLY BROUGHT TO EUROPE BY TISCHENDORF.*

Not half a century ago Eichhorn expressed his belief, that all very ancient MSS. of the New Testament which the convents of the Byzantine empire might once have possessed, had long since perished in the ravages of war or through continual use in the public services of the church; and that this was the reason, why the learned men who fled from the sword of the Turks into Italy and other parts of Europe in the latter half of the fifteenth century, brought with them no MSS. of earlier date than the age of the Comneni, who had revived biblical studies in the East some four centuries previously; and why European scholars who in more recent times had explored the ancient provinces of the Greek empire, had never yet been able to discover a single MS. of great value or remarkable antiquity.† This assertion, like some others which proceeded from the same learned pen, involved too wide a generalization, and was founded on an imperfect knowledge of facts. It was open to possible limitation even in his own time. Some of our oldest MSS., such as the Codex Vaticanus and the Rescript of Ephrem Syrus, though in all probability of Egyptian origin, found their way into Italy, there is good reason to believe, through the hands of learned Greeks on the destruction of the Eastern empire. This is distinctly affirmed of the last.‡ It would have been very unfortunate for the interests of biblical criticism, if this word of discouragement from so great an authority had prevented the fruitful researches of Tattam, Cureton and Tischendorf, which have given it within the last few years so signal a refutation. The most convincing proof of the success that may still reward a thorough exploration of the MS. treasures buried to this day

* Notitia Editionis Codicis Bibliorum Sinaitici, auspiciis Imperatoris Alexandri II. susceptæ. Accedit Catalogus Codicum nuper ex Oriente Petropolin perlatorum. Item Origenis Scholia in Proverbia Salomonis partim nunc primum partim secundum atque emendatius edita; cum duabus tabulis lapidi incisis. Edidit Æn. F. C. Tischendorf. Lipsiæ: F. A. Brockhaus. 1860.

† Einleitung in das Neue Testament, IV. p. 330, Leipzig, 1827.

‡ "Post interitum regni Græci a Lascari Rhyndacemo translatus una cum aliis codicibus Florentiam." Tischendorf, Prolegom. Nov. Test. Gr. Lips. 1849.

in the convents of the East, has been furnished by the recent discoveries of Tischendorf in Mount Sinai, of which he has just published a very interesting account.

For nearly four years from the autumn of 1840, previous to bringing out the first edition of his New Testament, Tischendorf was busied in examining various MSS. deposited in the libraries of England, Holland, Switzerland, Italy and Paris. While engaged in this task, the desire seized him of visiting the East, where he thought MSS., of essential aid to his great work, might still lie concealed. Through the favour of Frederic Augustus, the late king of Saxony, he was enabled to execute his purpose, and spent the greater part of 1844 in exploring the monasteries of the old Greek empire. From this first expedition he brought back some fragments of the Septuagint, which he deposited in the library of the University of Leipsic and soon after published at the same place, calling them after the name of his patron, the king, *Codex Friderico-Augustanus.* He discovered these fragments quite accidentally in the month of May, 1844, in a basket filled with a quantity of torn MSS., which had been tossed in there for the purpose of lighting the stoves of the monastery. As these were considered worthless and intended for speedy destruction, he obtained permission to carry them away with him. Larger portions of the same MS., of which he found traces, he could not induce the monks to deliver up to him, though he persuaded them to take more care in future of these subsisting remains, in the hope that he might ultimately get possession of them. In this, however, he was disappointed. In 1853, he undertook a second journey into the East, for the purpose of making an accurate transcript of these fragments with a view to publication; but on reaching the convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai, he could neither discover the treasure of which he was in quest, nor ascertain what had become of it. He concluded that it had been carried off to Europe; and for the sake of vindicating his own claim to the discovery, when he published the first volume of his "Monumenta Sacra,"* he printed along with it the last page of Isaiah, which he had copied from the fragments in 1844, stating that not only what he was then giving to the world (the Cod. Frid.-August.), but all the other remains of the same most ancient book, wherever they might have been conveyed, had been saved from destruction by his interposition and therefore properly belonged to him.

The event turned out better than he expected. Towards the end of 1856, with the consent of the Saxon Minister of State, Von Falkenstein, Tischendorf addressed a letter to the Russian embassy at Dresden, in which he proposed that he should be

* Monumentorum Sacrorum ineditorum Nova Collectio, 1855.

sent into the East by the authority of the Emperor Alexander II., for the purpose of searching after and procuring ancient MSS., Greek and Oriental, especially of the Scriptures. His views were cordially seconded by several persons of influence at the Russian court, recommended by the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, and patronized by the Empress. In September, 1858, the Emperor issued an order for the execution of this project. Tischendorf was then occupied with the preparation of the seventh edition of his New Testament; but at the beginning of 1859, he set out anew for the East, and on the last day of January reached the convent of St. Catharine. This was his third visit, and he was kindly welcomed by the Sinaitic brethren. During a walk one day with the steward of the convent, Tischendorf happened to allude in the course of conversation to the version of the LXX., some copies of his recent edition of which, with some of his New Testament, he had brought as a present for the convent library. On returning from their walk, the steward told Tischendorf that he also possessed a copy of the LXX., and forthwith placed before him a bundle wrapped round with a cloth in which the MS. was contained. Tischendorf undid the cloth, and beheld what he had given up all hope of recovering. He found this codex, which already from the fragments examined he had concluded to be one of the most ancient Greek MSS. in existence, to contain not only very large remains of the Old Testament, but, what was far more important, an entire copy of the New Testament *(ne minimâ quidem lacunâ deformatum)*, followed by the complete Epistle of Barnabas and the first part of the Shepherd of Hermas. This precious relic was brought from the cell of the sacristan, where a number of books, some printed, some MS., and mostly liturgical, had been deposited with the various utensils employed in the public service. Tischendorf, with the consent of the steward, carried it off to his own chamber; and his excitement, he tells us, on the discovery was so great, that he could not sleep, but after thanking God for this unexpected favour bestowed on the church, passed the whole of that first night in transcribing the Epistle of Barnabas. The brethren obligingly consented that, with the permission of their superiors in Cairo, the MS. should be forwarded to that city to be transcribed entire by Tischendorf. On the 13th of February, Tischendorf arrived at Cairo; and such was the despatch used in this matter, that although the desert between Sinai and Cairo had to be twice traversed by the messenger, by the 24th of that month Tischendorf received the MS. from the hands of the superiors at Cairo. The transcription of the codex, containing more than 100,000 verses, was completed within two months, made partly by his own hand, partly by two friends, whose work was carefully revised to the letter by Tischendorf himself. His chief difficulty was in dealing with the alterations,

which in nearly 8000 places had been introduced by correctors of an early date into the primitive text.

Tischendorf advised the Sinaitic brethren to present this MS. by his hand to the Emperor Alexander II. in acknowledgment of his zeal for the orthodox faith. To this they were themselves well inclined; but in consequence of some difficulties arising from the unsettled state of their society, a sort of middle course was adopted. It was agreed, at the earnest request of Tischendorf, that in order to prepare the text for publication with the utmost accuracy, he should take the MS. with him to St. Petersburg as if lent for a season, until such time as the archbishop in the name of the college should formally signify that it was given up in perpetuity. Such were the conditions under which the MS. was delivered to Tischendorf at Cairo on the 28th of September, 1859.

In former years Tischendorf had visited Palestine, especially Jerusalem and its neighbourhood—Berytus, Laodicea, Smyrna, the island of Patmos and Constantinople; and in all these places he had found something to further the object which he had specially in view. He entered Jerusalem in company with the Grand Duke, Constantine, in whom he found a zealous promoter of his biblical researches. Prince Lobanow, Russian ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, and Herr von Lagorsky, the Russian Imperial consul in Egypt, also rendered him much assistance in the prosecution of his work. During his stay at the residence of the former on the shores of the Bosphorus, the Prince shewed him a book written in Russian by the head of a convent, named Porphyrius, and published at Petersburg in 1856, in which the author gave an account of his travels through the East, and especially to Mount Sinai, during the years 1845 and 1846. In this book there was a notice of the Sinaitic MS. which had been the object of Tischendorf's earnest search. In fact, the year after Tischendorf had discovered the fragments of the Old Testament and had intimated their great value, Porphyrius saw the same in the monastery of St. Catharine, together with the remaining portions which had eluded the search of Tischendorf, and perceived at once that they were parts of one and the same MS. Porphyrius was a learned and accomplished man, well aware of the critical value of this Sinaitic MS., though in his judgment respecting the mode of writing, which he compares to the Slavonic, the age of the MS. and the character of the text, Tischendorf thinks him entirely mistaken.* Though Porphyrius stayed a long time at Mount Sinai, he did not think it worth

* See note, p. 7, of the "Notitia," where Tischendorf specifies what he considers to be the errors of Porphyrius. From the stichometric arrangement of the text—a mode of writing which he supposes to have been introduced about A.D. 446—Porphyrius concluded that the MS. must be referred to the fifth century,—a century later, as we shall see, than the date assigned to it by Tischendorf.

while to transcribe any book of the Old or New Testament either for general or for critical use. He appeared, moreover, not to know that the entire Greek text of the Shepherd of Hermas and of the whole of the first part of the Epistle of Barnabas had long been a *desideratum* with scholars which they had hitherto searched for in vain.—Such is Tischendorf's account of the relations between himself and Porphyrius. It is quite evident that he is sensitively anxious to repel the imputation of any wish to depreciate the merits of the Russian archimandrite. He politely disposes of his case with the words, "Varia ac diversa singulorum studia, nec omnia omnes possumus."

Tischendorf quitted Egypt in the middle of October and reached St. Petersburg at the beginning of November. The Emperor and Empress gazed, we are told, with delight on the precious prize, and were eager to hear of the literary treasures which had been rescued from destruction. For two weeks the MSS. were exhibited by imperial command to the public view, and directions were issued for editing the Sinaitic Bible as speedily as was compatible with accuracy. Of three several plans that were suggested to the Emperor, he approved and adopted the following: that the entire text, as it was written *a primâ manu*, should be represented by types approaching as near as possible to a facsimile of the MS. itself *(typis—qui ad maximam ipsoram manu scriptorum accedant similitudinem)*. To secure this object of perfect accuracy, it was proposed, not only that the several letters of the alphabet should be executed in the copperplate after the exact form of the MS., with a careful regard to the smaller and smallest forms, such as are frequently used at the end of a line,* but in case any letters in immediate juxta-position, like *αν, ον, αr*, should take up more room with the ordinary types than in the MS., that a set of types should be cast on purpose to remove this disparity and to bring the copy and the original into the closest conformity *(formæ duplices fictæ sunt quibus ipsa scriptorum ratio exprimeretur)*. On the whole, however, such is the uniformity of the characters in the Sinaitic Codex, that we might suppose them executed rather by types than by the pen, and they are therefore more easily represented through the press. To obtain the exactest resemblance to the original MS., not only the size of the Codex, the number of columns, and the length of particular lines when from whatever cause they exceed the rest, but the very colour of the ink, which is rather dusky than black, will be carefully imitated. In this form it is intended that the text *a primâ manu* should be given to the world, and also what the first and second correctors of the MS.—both of great antiquity—have either added in the

* e.g. ΠΡΟΦΗ
ΤΩΝ——
ΔΙΑΠΑΝΤΟC,

margin, or by points and brackets have indicated as proper to be expunged. All later alterations of the primitive text will be described and explained and referred to their respective authors in an accompanying commentary. Photographic and lithographic plates will complete the work, representing twenty pages of the original text selected on account of their critical or palæographic interest. The first artists and printers are to be employed; and the whole work in all its parts will be constantly revised by Tischendorf, and be tested and verified by collation with the MS. itself.

The edition of the text is to consist of three volumes; the two first comprising the fragments of the Old Testament; the third, the New, with the Epistle of Barnabas and the fragments of the Shepherd. To these a fourth will be added, containing, besides the plates just alluded to, a critical commentary, preceded by prolegomena in which the age and character of the MS., and its bearing on the constitution of the biblical text, will be minutely investigated. It is expected that the work will be ready for publication about the middle of 1862, so as to coincide with the millenial celebration of the founding of the Russian empire by Duke Ruric—a new and unexpected mode of solemnizing the epoch which the present Emperor is said earnestly to desire. Only three hundred copies of this costly and facsimile form are to be struck off, and these not for sale, but for gratuitous distribution by the Emperor, "per totam Christi ecclesiam, ubicunque litteris locus atque honos est." To meet the wants of scholars, in the same year on which this grand festal edition is to appear, a smaller one, "communi destinata usui," will be published. This, it is proposed, shall also be a critical edition, exhibiting the text in four columns on each page like the larger work, with a critical commentary and the greater part of the prolegomena, and a plate containing a facsimile of an entire page of the original MS. Through the munificent liberality of the Emperor of Russia, this smaller or manual edition will be offered to the public at an unusually low price. In 1862, only the New Testament, with the Epistle of Barnabas and the fragments of the Shepherd, will appear in this smaller form; but they will be followed, it is hoped, the next year by the entire subsisting remains of the Sinaitic MS. of the Old Testament. The larger work will be brought out at St. Petersburg; the smaller will be published by Brockhaus at Leipsic. The despatch combined with care which will distinguish this great publication, is not the least remarkable circumstance attending it. The edition of the Codex Vaticanus, though commenced by Mai in 1827, did not see the light till 1857, some time after his death. For three centuries it lay buried and all but inaccessible in the recesses of the Papal library at Rome, in spite of the earnest demands of scholars from every part of Europe for its publication. In less

than the same number of years from the time of its discovery, will this rescued Sinaitic treasure be given in the completest form to the world.

We must now give a brief account, after the indications of Tischendorf, of the codex itself. The MS. consists of 345 leaves and a half; of which 199 contain portions of the Old Testament; the remaining 147 and a half, the New Testament, including Barnabas and the Shepherd.* The collections of the Old Testament begin with a fragment of 1 Chronicles, followed by nearly the whole of Tobit and by the whole of Judith. Then come the 1st and 4th books of Maccabees entire; the whole of Isaiah contained in 26 leaves, and the six first leaves of the prophecies of Jeremiah. Nine of the Minor Prophets are preserved, occupying 14 leaves, viz. Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. These are succeeded by the whole body of the poetical books, written stichometrically, i. e. in lines according to the parallelism. From this mode of writing them, the ancient fathers comprehended all these books under one title as *βίβλοι στιχηρεῖς*. In this portion of it, the MS. exhibits not four, as in other parts, but only two columns on each page. The several books occur in the following order: Psalms (40 leaves), Proverbs (15), Canticles (3), Wisdom of Solomon (9), Wisdom of Sirach (25), Job (15). Job concludes the Old Testament.—The books of the New are thus arranged: (1) the four Gospels in their usual order; (2) nine of the Epistles of Paul—Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians; (3) Hebrews; (4) 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon; (5) Acts of the Apostles; (6) Catholic Epistles—James, 1 and 2 Peter, 1, 2 and 3 John, Jude; (7) Apocalypse of John; (8) Barnabas and the Shepherd.

Of the evidence furnishing the probable age of this MS., Tischendorf promises a fuller statement in his forthcoming prolegomena. In the mean time he adheres to the opinion which he formed on first examining the codex at Cairo, viz. that it belongs to the fourth century, but whether to the first or to the second half of that century he does not at present decide. In proof of this assertion, he insists first of all on the form of the uncial characters, closely resembling those which occur in the old papyrus rolls found in Herculaneum and other places. He tells us that he possesses himself a small papyrus fragment dug up by the Bedouins in the great necropolis of Memphis, the writing of which is exactly like that of the Sinaitic Codex. This MS., we may observe in passing, is written, not on papyrus, but on vellum. Its antiquity he infers from the uniform distinctness *(puritas)* of the characters, whether square or round;

* These works are treated in the MS. as an integral part of the New Testament.

a quality which they still preserve, when for want of room, which is often the case at the end of a verse, smaller characters are substituted. This has been noted by palæographists as a distinction of the most ancient MSS. It belongs to the Cod. Vatican., Alexandrin., Ephrem. Syr. Rescript., and some other codices of very early date; whereas in books which are known from independent evidence to be not older than the beginning of the sixth century, a change and deterioration in this respect are said to be already perceptible. The purity of the uncial character seems, therefore, to imply a date anterior to the sixth century. Moreover, the Sinaitic Codex is without initial letters; and this Tischendorf considers a decisive test of age. All who have made palæography their study will agree, he says, with him, that MSS., whether Greek or Latin, which are probably referable to the fifth century, are distinguished by initial letters; while the absence of those letters characterizes papyri and the most ancient codices that we possess, such as the Codex Vaticanus and the celebrated Parisian fragments of the Octateuch.* The simplicity and extreme rarity of the interpunction in the Sinaitic MS. is another sign of antiquity. Constantly where a connected series is completed and we should naturally look for a point, either none is inserted, or a blank space is left, and the hand of a later corrector has supplied it. In this respect the Codex Sinaiticus has more affinity with the Cod. Vatican. and the papyri, than with MSS. of apparently later date. As facsimiles have been published of the writing in both these codices, Vatican. and Sinait., the student can readily compare them. In form and general appearance the characters much resemble each other. Those of the Cod. Sinait. as exhibited by Tischendorf at the end of his Notitia, are somewhat taller, and the strokes forming them slenderer and more distinct; but the writing is so clear and uniform and beautiful, that notwithstanding the absence of interpunction and initial letters, even an eye unaccustomed to MSS. after a little practice would read it with ease.

It has been noticed, as an indication of the probable date of this codex, that the characters in which it is written appear to be in a transition-state between those which are found in the old papyrus rolls and those which became current in the fifth and sixth centuries. A similar conclusion is suggested by the shape and size of the codex itself. When Hug examined the Codex Vaticanus in 1809, at the time that it was deposited in the Imperial Library at Paris, he noticed at once the close resemblance of the expanded codex, with its six parallel columns

* A name for the eight first books of the Old Testament, on which a continuous commentary was often written. Heptateuch was used in the same way of the seven first. See Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. edit. Harles. VII. p. 563, sub Procop. Gaz.

on the contiguous pages, and its greater width than height (somewhat in the form, we may presume, of a modern music-book), to the ancient volumen; and he very ingeniously and very probably referred its origin to a period when the old roll was gradually giving way to the modern book. The first books retained much of the form and character of the previous rolls; just as the earliest printing is almost a facsimile of the latest MSS.* This argument from form and appearance applies with peculiar force to the Sinaitic Codex; for when it is opened, it exhibits, except in the stichometric parts, not six, but eight columns on the adjoining pages, and therefore presents a still closer likeness to the ancient volumen. In this respect Tischendorf affirms that it is unique among MSS. hitherto known.

Other tokens of antiquity Tischendorf finds—in the orthography of this MS., which agrees minutely with that of the Codex Vaticanus; in the arrangement of the books of the New Testament; in the remarkable simplicity of their inscriptions and subscriptions; and in the entire absence of accents which even the two earliest correctors, who must have lived some centuries after the original writing of the text, have nowhere employed. Another circumstance is entitled to still greater weight. According to Cæsarius and Epiphanius, the Ammonian sections and the canons of Eusebius began to be generally introduced into Greek MSS. of the New Testament about the middle of the fourth century; and a little later Jerome transferred them to his revision of the Latin version. Now it is remarkable that in all our oldest MSS. of the New Testament these sections are indicated, with the single exception of this Sinaitic monument, which has not a trace of them *a primâ manu*, and of the Cod. Vatican., which has divisions peculiar to itself. "Qua ex re," says Tischendorf, "quod sumitur argumentum quantam in summa codicis vetustate probanda vim habeat, facile cuivis clarum erit."† It is further a significant fact, that this codex includes the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas along with the canonical books of the New Testament. We know from Clement of Alexandria and Origen, that in the second and third centuries these books were considered by many as having a sort of canonical authority (our modern idea of a

* Only a very few Greek MSS. are marked by this transition-character of resemblance to the old roll. Hug had noticed some fragments of Dio Cassius preserved in the Vatican. Tischendorf has added to the number two very ancient copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch at Naplus in Palestine, and one or two other Greek and Latin MSS. p. 12, note.

† The Ammonian sections with references to the Eusebian canons occur in the Cod. Alexandrin., in the Cod. Ephrem. Syr. and in the Cod. Cantabrig.; in this last, however, without reference to the Eusebian canons, and added, it is thought, by a later hand. See Rev. J. S. Porter's Textual Criticism, p. 202. The Cod. Cantabr., like the Cod. Vatican., seems to have had originally divisions peculiar to itself.

canon did not develop itself till a later period); and even as late as the middle of the fourth, they were still acknowledged to a certain extent by Eusebius as "dubiæ auctoritatis," classed by him among the ἀντιλεγόμενα and νόθα, not absolutely excluded, but fit to be read.* With this decision of Eusebius, the canon, remounting probably to the same date, which is attached to the Cod. Claromontan. is, according to Tischendorf, in entire agreement. Before the close, however, of that century, as we gather from the enactments of the Councils of Laodicea, 364 A.D., and of Carthage, 390 A.D., the number of canonical books was determined by public authority, and both Barnabas and the Shepherd were excluded from them. In the Sinaitic Codex, some leaves are wanting between Barnabas and the Shepherd, as well as at the end of it; and Tischendorf thinks it probable that in these intervals some other of the antilegomena of Eusebius may originally have found a place. All these indications strengthen him in the conclusion, that this document cannot be later than the fourth century. He is aware that a parallel phenomenon in the Cod. Alexandrin., which has the two Epistles of Clement appended to it, and yet by none is placed earlier than the fifth, by some is even brought down as low as the sixth century, may seem at first view to weaken the force of his reasoning; but he meets the objection by replying, that although, as we learn from Jerome, the first Epistle of Clement in some parts of Christendom appears to have been read publicly in the church towards the end of the fourth century, there is not a trace of such a distinction having ever been conferred on what is called the second; and that consequently some other motive than that of supposing them possessed of any degree of canonical authority, must have induced the transcriber of this MS. to place them where they now are.

Certain peculiarities in the text of this codex point, in the judgment of the editor, to the same conclusion as to age which has been rendered probable by other considerations. The best MSS. of the fifth and sixth centuries, A, C, D, with fourteen other uncial MSS., all the cursive, seven copies of the Itala, all of the Vulgate, and all of the Syriac version, with the Mæso-Gothic and some other ancient versions, contain the twelve last verses of the Gospel of Mark. Nevertheless, Eusebius, who died 340 A.D., declares, in a letter to Marinus, that these verses were wanting in nearly all the accurate copies of his time; and his testimony is confirmed by Jerome, who says, "omnes Græciæ libros pæne hoc capitulum non habere." In its rejection of these verses—against the united witness of more than 500 Greek MSS. from the fifth century downwards, though in accordance with

* The Shepherd of Hermas is placed in a similar rank to that assigned it by Eusebius in the Muratorian Fragment of a Canon, usually referred to the opening of the third century.

the explicit statements of Eusebius and Jerome—this Sinaitic monument stands alone with the Codex Vaticanus.*

It is well known that critics have found some difficulty in determining to whom the Epistle (generally entitled) "To the Ephesians" was actually addressed. Some, after Marcion—among them, Wetstein and Paley—have supposed that it was originally sent to the church of Laodicea; others, such as Michaelis, Hug, Eichhorn, Neander, have regarded it as a kind of circular to be forwarded in succession to different churches; and some have actually imagined that in the original autograph, where the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ now occur, a space was left vacant where the name might be inserted of the community to which it was to be immediately addressed. The objection to these theories is, that in an overwhelming majority of extant MSS., the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ occur in the opening salutation and determine the specific direction of the Epistle. But here, again, a singular phenomenon meets us. Besides the omission of these words from Marcion's canon, to which in itself no great weight might be thought to attach, Basil attests, about the middle of the fourth century, that they were wanting in old copies in his time, and Jerome indirectly indicates that they were unknown to Origen in the first half of the third century. In support of this very ancient traditional testimony, against the combined evidence of all existing MSS., we can only adduce the Cod. Vatican. and the Cod. Sinaiticus, which again, as represented by their primitive text, stand alone in their united witness.†

In dealing with ancient MSS. it is not always easy to decide what has proceeded *a primâ manu*, and what has been added in subsequent revisions. Tischendorf's object in editing the Cod. Sinait. is to exhibit as faithfully as possible the primitive text. He supposes it to have been re-touched at different periods by several hands, at least by four. Some of these appear to have revised only certain books; others, the entire document; others, again, not so much to have meddled with the text, as to have supplied certain additions, as the Ammonian and Eusebian num-

* Tischendorf observes in a note, that only one copy of the Itala (Codex Taurinensis, formerly Bobbiensis, probably to be referred to the fourth century) excludes these last verses of Mark's Gospel; and that three oriental versions, the Armenian, the Ethiopic and the Arabic, though the great majority of MSS. contain them, seem nevertheless to favour this constitution of the original text. Of modern writers, amidst a perplexing balance of authorities, Griesbach and Lachmann admit them; Tischendorf (edit. stereotyp., Lips. 1850) excludes them. It is curious that, among the Syriac fragments of the Gospels recently published by Dr. Cureton, the only portion preserved of Mark should be the four last verses of this 16th chapter.

† It ought to be stated that in the Cod. Vatican. the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ have been inserted in the margin, Lachmann says *a primâ manu;* Tischendorf, *a secundâ.* The reading of the Cod. Sinait. confirms the original decision of Tischendorf. He mentions in a note, p. 14, that in a MS. of the Pauline Epistles at Vienna, the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ have been marked with points by a later hand, as if on the authority of some more ancient codex.

bers. On this part of the subject, which is very important towards determining the critical worth of the codex, he promises fuller details in his prolegomena (p. 19, note).*

In accordance with the practice of former scholars, Tischendorf designates this new source of criticism, and marks its place among the older authorities, by the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, ℵ; and in his Notitia he has given a tolerably copious specimen of its characteristic readings. From a cursory survey confined to the four Gospels, we should say, that they coincide mostly with B (Cod. Vatican.), with C (Ephrem. Syr. Rescr.), with A (Alexandr.), with D (Cantabr.), with L (Parisiens.), with Δ (Sangallens.). One or two of these readings it may be curious and instructive to notice.

Mark i. 1, *υἱοῦ θεοῦ* are omitted, as they are, according to Lachmann and Griesbach, by Irenæus and Origen.

Luke xxiv. 51, *καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*, in the primitive text are omitted, with D (which has *ἀνέτη* for *διέστη*, the word immediately preceding them), and two very old Latin codices, *a* and *b* (Lachmann in loc.). Tischendorf thinks they were inserted in the Cod. Sinait., as it now stands, by a later hand, the same which supplied *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*, Ephes. i. 1 (p. 19, note).

Luke xxii. 43, 44, from *ὤφθη* to *γῆν*, though omitted by A and B, and included in brackets by Lachmann, are confirmed *a primâ et tertiâ manu*. Here, again, this codex coincides with D.

John viii. 1—11. Entire section of the woman taken in adultery is omitted, with A, B, C, and in accordance with the perfect silence of Origen in his commentary. D, on the other hand, has it, though in a somewhat varied form.

Matthew vi. 13, omits the doxology in the Lord's Prayer, with B and D.

Acts xx. 28, reads *ἐκκλησ. τοῦ θεοῦ*, instead of *τοῦ κυρίου*, with B, and against A, C, D.

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* We may here notice briefly, though it does not properly belong to the special subject of this paper, that besides this biblical codex, Tischendorf brought many other MS. treasures from the East, which have been partly deposited in the Imperial Library, partly consigned to the care of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. They consist of palimpsests, Greek MSS. uncial and cursive, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, Turkish, Hebrew (containing a very ancient edition of rabbinical books), Samaritan, Slavonic, Abyssinian and Armenian writings, two rolls of papyrus accompanying a Greek astrolabe (of which he has given a lithographic representation), and some small sepulchral monuments of wood, of Egyptian origin and covered with Greek inscriptions. Among the Greek MSS. are fragments of the Old and New Testament text, which when duly printed and edited will supply fresh materials for textual criticism. The other MSS. promise to increase our knowledge of the early versions of the Scriptures and of the old liturgical and religious literature of the East. Tischendorf speaks of two copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch among these MSS. as very ancient. From the island of Patmos he brought away a fragment containing six books of Diodorus Siculus, with an addition supplying a gap in the extant text, and a copy of the scholia of Origen on the Proverbs of Solomon, which he has printed at the end of his Notitia, with critical notes.

John i. 18, *a primâ manu*, μονογενὴς (without the article) θεὸς (instead of υἱός) εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσ. agreeing with B (except as to the omission of ὁ ὤν before εἰς τὸν κ.), with the Peschito and with the Ethiopic.

1 Tim. iii. 16, *a primâ manu*, ὃς ἐφανερώθη. Tischendorf remarks, *in loc.*, "Corrector aliquis, qui omnium ultimus textum attigit, seculi fere duodecimi, reposuit θεός, sed hoc tam caute fecit ut antiquissimam scripturam intactam relinqueret" (p. 20). Another critical witness is thus adduced towards the settlement of this much-disputed text. The Cod. Vaticanus, on the other hand, as edited by Mai, reads θεὸς. The difficulty of deciphering the reading in A, whether it was originally OC or ΘC, is well known. Griesbach and Lachmann state it unhesitatingly as OC. Porson and Tischendorf are of the same opinion; and with these high authorities Mr. J. S. Porter, who has carefully examined the MS. itself, and given a facsimile of the passage in question (Textual Criticism, p. 485—488), also agrees.*

1 John v. 7. It is almost needless to remark that this notorious text is wanting in the Codex Sinaiticus.

It cannot be denied that Tischendorf's language in this Notitia is marked by a tone of undoubting confidence, as if he were possessed by an entire belief in the great antiquity and unparalleled value of the treasure which he has recovered. In receiving his words, some allowance must be made for the sanguine feelings by which they are dictated. At the same time it must be admitted, that the arguments which he has advanced for the antiquity of this Sinaitic Codex are in themselves very powerful, and have been stated by him with great clearness, simplicity and self-consistency. Of palæographic inferences, only those who are well versed in the science of *Diplomatik* are qualified to judge; and we shall await with deep interest the confirmation of his conclusions by other scholars. Whether they decide for or against him on this particular head, there will remain other indications of a very ancient text which it will be difficult to deprive of their force. It will be satisfactory to learn that the distinction which he thinks can be clearly made out between the primitive text and the earliest revisions, especially in regard to the addition of the Ammonian and Eusebian numbers, is accepted by competent judges, as so much of the argument for the antiquity of the MS. depends on establishing this point. It has also occurred to us as a possibility, that in some remote corner of Christendom, and under the peculiar circumstances of the community in which the MS. originated, old readings, old forms of words, and the ancient

* Nevertheless, the editor of the Codex Alexandrinus, which has been just printed in 8vo form (Williams and Norgate, London, 1860), gives θεὸς, confessing his doubts at the same time. He says in a note on the passage: "Nunc legitur $\overline{\Theta\varsigma}$. Sed manus recens lineam super $\overline{\Theta\varsigma}$ crassavit. Quid olim, valde obscurum: nobis tenebræ sunt. Locum sæpe inspeximus, sed fugit aciem veritas."

mode of writing and shaping the codex, may have subsisted long after the time when they had passed out of the general usage, and may not therefore in themselves, against other evidence, establish so early a date as the fourth century. But even granting this possibility, the value of the Sinaitic MS. might only be one degree diminished; for though executed later than the fourth century, it might still represent the text of that age—the clearness and regularity of the characters furnishing reasonable internal proof of the care and accuracy with which the transcript had been made.

It is a great, as it is a most unexpected, gain to biblical criticism to have recovered from the past, as there is now every reason to think that we have, another witness of the ancient constitution of the New Testament text, worthy to take its place by the side of the venerable codex of the Vatican. Persons unfamiliar with researches of this kind, who have been accustomed to put their trust in a *verbal* Christianity, and to suppose that the deepest questions of theology can be solved by a simple comparison of texts, may feel surprise and disappointment that our oldest written testimonies do not ascend higher at the utmost than the first half of the fourth century—the age of Constantine's conversion and of the Council of Nice. But with regard to all works of great antiquity, it must be remembered, that criticism, with all its efforts and the amplest materials, can but approximate to the primitive text. The documents on which it has to rest are in their nature very perishable, and cannot possibly exceed a certain age. When Wolf proposed a critical edition of Homer, he only aimed at reproducing as nearly as possible the text which was issued and used by the critics of the Alexandrine period. In announcing his New Testament to the world, Lachmann represented it as the immediate object of critical endeavour to restore the probable text of the fourth century. When this has been determined as nearly as may be by reasonable evidence, we have acquired, as it were, a fixed basis of operations, from which, by a careful comparison of still existing indications, we may cautiously reason backwards into a remoter antiquity. This latter process is what Lachmann calls *emendatio* as contradistinguished from *recensio*. We shall thus probably have gained a tolerably correct insight into the character of the text which lay before Origen and Dionysius of Alexandria—the first Christians who applied criticism, in our sense of the word, to biblical studies—in the earlier half of the third century, when the importance of a distinction between authoritative and unauthoritative books was beginning to be generally felt, and the *diorthotæ* of Alexandria were giving to the New Testament text that determinate form and character which it had assumed before it was affected by the false refinements of the scribes of the Byzantine school. Beyond this point it seems unreasonable to look.

The fourth, at furthest the third century, is probably the *ultima Thule* of critical discovery. What was the text of a still earlier period—described by Tischendorf and Tregelles as wild and confused—slowly forming itself at a time when many of the books of the New Testament were as yet probably a mere private possession, continually enlarged and corrected by their respective owners, and ever open to the disturbing influences of a living tradition—it is now hopeless to attempt to recover; if, indeed, it were possible, under any conceivable circumstances, to reproduce what was itself to so large an extent unfixed. Dim traces of what the earliest Christians read in different parts of the world may perhaps be detected here and there in fragments of the oldest Latin versions, and possibly, in some few cases, in that MS. of mysterious origin and history, and of strange unparalleled readings, D (Codex Cantabr.), which Whiston, in spite of its peculiarities, considered so ancient that he carried it back to the second century and made it the basis of his "Primitive New Testament,"* and which a critic of far sounder judgment and more accurate learning, the late Bishop Marsh, pronounced to be "one of the oldest now extant," and to contain readings which, however strange, "are ancient and genuine."†

T.

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## THE HYMNOLOGY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

Vocal and instrumental music has in all civilized countries entered as a prominent element in the public worship of the Divine Ruler of the world. How rich and varied were the resources of this nature enjoyed by the ancient Egyptians, ordinary students may now ascertain who possess the works of Wilkinson or can make a visit to the British Museum. By these resources the Hebrews appear to have profited greatly during their protracted sojourn in the land of the Nile; nor scarcely can it be questioned that in their escape out of bondage, they carried with them not only the chief musical instruments of the country of their detention, but much of the musical skill of its inhabitants. Certainly we know that their heroic liberator, Moses, and his sister Miriam, as soon as they had set their foot on the eastern shore of the Red Sea, celebrated the national deliverance in vocal and instrumental music. From the skill displayed on this "holy, solemn and joyous day," it may be inferred that the performers were already rich not only in sacred song, but also in the ability to make it effective in public worship. The song then sung was eucharistic, or a song of gratitude.

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* Stamford and London, 1745.

† Notes to Michaelis's Introduction, Vol. II. P. ii. p. 679.

The gratitude was expressed in direct ascriptions of praise and the celebration of the Divine attributes. It was also expressed in the commemoration of recent events, and in the triumphal description of their effects on nations who held the countries through which the Israelites had to pass, and in which they were in time to settle. The form of the service was peculiar. Like the Greek ode, the poetry was sung, and sung to the lyre and other instruments. Like the Greek chorus, the performance had the strophe and the antistrophe (accompanied too by dancing), only they consisted for the most part of one line each, instead of several. The singing was what is called antiphonal. The performers were arranged in two choirs and answered (Exod. xv. 21, comp. 1 Sam. xviii. 7) each other. This feature is indelibly impressed on "the song of Moses," as appears from this arrangement of the beginning of his ode:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1*st Choir.* | I will sing unto Jehovah. |
| 2*nd Choir.* | For he hath triumphed gloriously. |
| 1*st and* 2*nd.* | The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea. |
| 1*st Choir.* | Jehovah is my strength and my song, and he is become my salvation. |
| 2*nd Choir.* | He is my God, and I will prepare him an habitation. |
| 1*st and* 2*nd.* | My father's God, and I will exalt him. |
| 1*st Choir.* | Jehovah is a man of war. |
| 2*nd Choir.* | Jehovah is his name. |
| 1*st and* 2*nd.* | Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea. |
| | His chosen captains also are drowned in the Red Sea. |

The English does not accommodate itself to the construction so readily as the Hebrew, but the correspondence of the two sets of lines can hardly be mistaken. The correspondence consists in this, that the idea of the first line is repeated in the second with some modification in either substance or form. This antiphonal or replicatory method stamped itself deeply on the whole Hebrew literature, extending even to the prose narratives of the Gospels. And in the triumphal ode of Moses, as sung by Miriam, we have an accurate type of the poetry of Israel, especially as composed for the services of the temple. The Book of Psalms is the great national collection of Hebrew hymns. Ascribed (mainly at least) by Josephus (Antiq. vii. 12, 3), and others led by his authority, to King David, the collection contains "psalms, hymns and spiritual songs," extending from the early periods of the nation down to near the age of Christ, by whom distinct reference is made to it under the name of "The Book of Psalms" (Luke xx. 42). Our present purpose does not permit us to tarry over a description of the sacred songs of the Hebrews, still less to explain the nature of their instrumental music. Enough, in addition to what has been said, to state, that those songs were various in form and name, but

very much one in subject and purpose, being for the most part addresses to Jehovah, celebrating his attributes and his providence, and expressive of the gratitude, the wants and the desires of his worshipers. As illustrative of the character of the Hebrew religion and people, it may be added, that gratitude is the predominant sentiment they convey. This wonderfully rich and diversified collection of sacred song, which, in consequence of its superlative qualities and especially its deep and vivid devotion, has become the great Psalter of the Christian world, was sung at the chief national festivals of the Jews, under arrangements and with accompaniments by which it was aided to become most worthy of its object in the worship of the Almighty, and most instructive and impressive on the minds, the hearts and the lives of his worshipers. So grand a channel of spiritual good to man could not perish. Enshrined in the heart of the Hebrew, it went with him when he was driven into captivity over the earth after the downfal of Jerusalem; and during the long dark and troubled interval of his wanderings, it ministered light and solace to his bereaved spirit, giving birth to another succession of sacred poetry not wholly unworthy of its original.

When the Israelite became a Christian, he retained all the thoughts, affections and usages which were not incompatible with his new faith. Most precious to him was the sacred song of his native land. To that he clung. Why not? He continued to worship Jehovah, its august theme. Only, instead of worshiping Jehovah in the name of Moses, he now worshiped Jehovah in the name of Christ; and instead of the appellation Jehovah, he invoked God by the more endearing title of Father. Retaining the psalm, he of course retained the structure of the psalm, and would perhaps from the first, certainly as soon as circumstances allowed, observe also the manner of its execution in antiphones or responses. In one quality the Hebrew ode would be surpassed by the Christian—its gratitude would be more intense, lively and tender, in the degree in which the later dispensation of God's grace surpassed the earlier. Even when the spirit of the gospel had not yet made itself a channel of utterance in new poetic forms of worship, that spirit would infuse into the old forms borrowed from the Hebrew church at once a higher sense and a loftier and more joyous gratitude. While this change of tone was introduced by circumstances, no change of the object of address would ensue, partly because the Israelite could worship no one but Jehovah, and partly because he was already familiar with the idea of a Mediator between God and himself, and so would readily take Jesus in the place of Moses without presuming to associate him in his psalmody with the Creator of heaven and earth, whose Messenger he was. Hence we seem justified in deducing the statement, that the first worship of the Christian church was addressed solely to

Jehovah as "the God and Father of the Lord Jesus Christ." In other words, the primitive hymnology of that church was Unitarian. The conclusion is confirmed by details that appear in the New Testament.

The earliest notice in point of time that we find in the New Testament documents, is the fact mentioned by Matthew (xxvi. 30, compare Mark xiv. 26) that at the close of the Passover supper Jesus sang a hymn with his disciples. In so doing he conformed to a custom with which he had been familiar from his youth upwards. The hymn which the Jews sang at the feast of the Passover, called Hallel, was the series of sacred odes found in the book of Psalms, and comprehending Psalms cxiii. to cxviii. Whether Jesus sang all these six odes or (which is more likely) only one of them, we have no means of determining. On the supposition that it was only one, we incline to select the 116th, as pointedly bearing on the peculiar position of the Messiah and his little band. The tone of the whole is one of thankful, trusting and joyous worship, directed solely to the God of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses and the prophets. If, as is not improbable, the worshipers preserved the forms to which they were used, they sang in alternate strains or antiphonally.

*The Christian Passover Hymn.*

I love Jehovah because He hath heard my voice and my supplications.
Because He hath inclined his ear unto me I will call upon Him as long as I live.
The sorrows of death compassed me;
And the pains of the grave seized me;
I found trouble and sorrow.
Then called I upon the name of the Lord,
O Lord, I beseech thee, deliver my soul.
Gracious is Jehovah and righteous;
Yea, our God is merciful.
Jehovah preserveth the simple.
I was brought low and He helped me.
Return unto thy rest, O my soul!
For Jehovah hath dealt bountifully with thee.
For thou hast delivered my soul from death,
Mine eyes from tears, and my feet from falling.
I will walk before Jehovah in the land of the living;
I believed; therefore have I spoken.
I was greatly afflicted;
In haste, I said, "All men are faithless."
What shall I render unto Jehovah for all his benefits toward me?
I will take the cup of salvation
And call on the name of Jehovah.
I will pay my vows unto Jehovah now in the presence of all his people.
Precious in the sight of Jehovah is the death of his saints.
O Jehovah, truly I am thy servant;
I am thy servant and the son of thine handmaid;

Thou hast loosed my bonds.
I will offer to thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving,
And will call on the name of Jehovah.
I will pay my vows unto Jehovah now in the presence of all his people,
In the courts of the house of Jehovah,
In the midst of thee, O Jerusalem!
Praise ye Jehovah!

There is no reason to doubt that this observance exercised a controlling influence on the hymnology of the Christian church. The example of Christ and the apostles would readily acquire the force and fixedness of usage, recommended and enforced as it was on all believers by the awful yet tender associations connected with that night and the ensuing day, and by all the love and gratitude toward Jesus called forth by his death, his resurrection, his ascension and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

Some twenty years after these events, the apostle Paul makes references in a letter of undoubted authenticity which tend to illustrate and confirm our statements. Among the exercises of public worship observed in the church at Corinth (1 Cor. xiv. 15, seq.), there were, it appears, singing and giving of thanks. The singing consisted of psalmody, and psalmody, originally at least, implied an instrument. The thanksgiving comprised the direct offering of gratitude (ver. 17) and ascriptions of praise or celebration of the Divine attributes (ver. 16). The service was conducted by "the whole church" (ver. 23) according to a set and recognized form, against any interruption of which the apostle protested (ver. 26). Animated by the spirit of God, the worshipers "sang with the understanding" (Ps. xlvii. 7), at least in part responsively; for while one offered his thank-offering, another adopted its tenor by saying "Amen"—in the Greek, "*the* Amen"—shewing the use of that confirmatory term in the customary form (ver. 16). The phraseology in which these facts are conveyed excludes Christ as either the object of these invocations or as sharing in them, and refers the whole to God (ver. 2). This important truth comes out very clearly from the 25th verse, where Paul, describing the effect of the example of the service on an unbeliever who might enter the room during its celebration, says of him, that being converted by what he heard, he would "fall down on his face and worship God (*the* God in the Greek, i.e. the Creator and Father), and report that God (*the* God) is among you of a truth" (ver. 25).

In his Epistle to the Ephesians (v. 18, seq.), Paul employs terms which are full of instruction bearing on our subject. We cite his words in full: "Be filled with the spirit (of God), speaking to yourselves (one another) in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs (odes), singing and making melody (psalming) in your heart to the Lord (Jehovah); giving thanks always for all things to God and the Father (to him who is at once your God and

Father) in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." The following things seem to be here clearly implied: 1, the Ephesian church celebrated their divine worship in psalms, hymns and spiritual songs; 2, the performance was antiphonal; 3, the object of adoration was the God and Father of the Lord Jesus Christ, in whose name, or on behalf of whose cause, the homage was put up; 4, the service was chiefly a thank-offering; 5, the oblation came from the heart of the disciples as a result of its being filled with the spirit of God; 6, the whole had the express sanction of the apostle Paul. The approval and confirmation of Paul remains unquestionable, should any one think that the passage speaks of what Paul enjoins rather than what the Ephesians did. The general bearing on the subject we are considering is also the same. Unquestionably the church singing which the apostle to the Gentiles sanctioned was in harmony with what was customary in the Hebrew church, with what was observed by Christ and his apostles, and with what prevailed in the church at Corinth, so far at least as the object of adoration was concerned, while in minor particulars it differed only as the change from Moses to Christ required. A corresponding passage exists in the same apostle's letter to the Colossians (iii. 16, 17): "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom; teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace (gratitude) in your hearts to the Lord (Tischendorf has '*the* God'). And whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father (to him who is both his (or your) God and Father) by him." Here the same general truths are taught as in the passage we have just considered—only what is there described as flowing from the spirit of God, is here described as ensuing from "the word of Christ." Those, then, who worship according to the word of Christ, worship not Christ, but in Christ's name, and direct their adorations to his God and Father "in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs." Indeed, those whom Paul regarded as serving God in the gospel, were such as worshiped God the Father in whatsoever they did in word or deed. How can a life pervaded by the spirit of Unitarianism be more accurately described?

For the expression of the state of mind which Paul describes, language now found in the New Testament was very suitable, the rather that it bears a deep impress of the spirit of the Old Testament poetry. This language would easily shape itself into Christian hymns under the warm and deep pressures of a vivid knowledge and a burning love of Christ occasioned by his ministry, his humiliation and his glorification. The language to which we refer is found mostly in the second and third chapters of the Gospel of Luke; portions of which still form a part of the service of the church universal in the Benedictus, the Magnificat,

and the Nunc Dimittis. We shall go through the chapter and present the very early hymns to which it may have given birth.

*The Hymn of the Forerunner.*

Fear not, Zacharias,
For thy prayer is heard,
And thy wife Elizabeth shall bear thee a son,
And thou shalt call his name John;
And thou shalt have joy and gladness,
And many shall rejoice at his birth;
For he shall be great in the sight of Jehovah,
And shall drink neither wine nor strong drink,
And he shall be filled with the Holy Spirit even from his mother's womb;
And many of the children of Israel shall he turn to Jehovah, their God.
And he shall go before his anointed
In the spirit and power of Elijah,
To turn the hearts of the fathers to the children,
And the disobedient to the wisdom of the just,
To make ready a people prepared for Jehovah.

*The Annunciation.*

Lo, thou shalt conceive in thy womb and bring forth a son,
And shalt call his name Jesus;
For he shall save his people from their sins;
He shall be great,
And shall be called the Son of the Highest;
And the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David,
And he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever,
And of his kingdom there shall be no end.

*Mary's Thank-offering—Magnificat.*

My soul doth magnify Jehovah,
And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.
For He hath regarded the low estate of his handmaiden;
And lo! henceforth all generations shall call me blessed,
For He that is mighty hath done to me great things,
And holy is his name.
And his mercy is on them that fear Him,
From generation to generation.
He hath shewed strength with his arm;
He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts.
He hath put down the mighty from their seats,
And exalted them of low degree.
He hath filled the hungry with good things,
And the rich He hath sent empty away.
He hath given help to his servant Israel,
In remembrance of his mercy;
As He spake to our fathers,
To Abraham and to his seed,
For ever. Amen.

*The Thank-offering of Zacharias—Benedictus.*

Blessed be the Lord God of Israel,
For He hath visited and redeemed his people,

And hath raised up a horn of salvation for us
In the house of his servant David;
As He spake by the mouth of his holy prophets
Which have been since the world began:
That we should be saved from our enemies
And from the hand of all that hate us;
To perform the mercy promised to our fathers,
And to remember his holy covenant;
The oath which He sware to our father Abraham
That He would grant unto us,
That we, being delivered out of the hands of our enemies,
Might serve Him without fear,
In holiness and righteousness before Him
All the days of our life.

*The Mission of John the Baptist.*

Thou, child,
Shalt be called the prophet of the Highest;
For thou shalt go before the face of Jehovah
To prepare his ways;
To give knowledge of salvation unto his people
By the remission of their sins,
Through the tender mercy of our God,
Whereby the day-spring from on high hath visited us;
To give light to them that sit in darkness
And in the shadow of death,
To guide our feet into the way of peace!

*The Angelic Announcement.*

*1st Choir.* Lo! I bring you good tidings of great joy,
Which shall be to all people.
For unto you is born this day in the city of David
A Saviour,
Which is Christ the Lord.

*2nd Choir.* Glory to God in the highest,
And on earth peace, goodwill toward men!

*Simeon's Song—Nunc Dimittis.*

Lord! now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace,
According to thy word;
For my eyes have seen thy salvation,
Which thou hast prepared
Before the face of all people,
A light to lighten the Gentiles,
And the glory of thy people Israel.

Other parts of the Bible would on a careful survey be found to yield strains similarly suited for Christian worship, and which probably constituted elements of the Hymnal of the primitive church.

The ground over which we have just gone may be considered as the border-land dividing the literature of the old dispensation from that of the new.

It was only by degrees that the primitive church passed from the psalms of the Old Testament to what may be termed specifically Christian themes. The earliest of these is found by Grotius in the prayer addressed to God by the church, as recorded in Acts iv. 24—30. We present it as

*The Apostles' Hymn.*

Jehovah, thou art God,
Who hast made heaven and earth and the sea
And all that in them is.
Who by the mouth of thy servant David hast said,
Why did the heathen rage,
And the people imagine vain things?
The kings of the earth stood up,
And the rulers were gathered together
Against Jehovah and against his Christ.
For of a truth against thy holy child Jesus whom thou hast anointed,
Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel,
Were gathered together
To do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done.
And now, O Jehovah, behold their threatenings,
And grant unto thy servants
That with all boldness they may speak thy word,
By stretching forth thy hand to heal,
And that signs and wonders may be done by the name of thy holy child Jesus.

This hymn is purely Unitarian. Only the Creator is addressed, and Jesus is described as the Christ of God and God's holy Child or Servant. Yet he had now left the earth and sat at the right hand of the Father Almighty.

Some thirty years later, "Saint John the Divine" furnishes in the Apocalypse hymns undoubtedly conceived in the spirit of primitive Christianity. First he gives

*The Hymn of the Four-and-twenty Elders.*

Thou art worthy, O Jehovah,
To receive glory and honour and power,
For thou hast created all things,
And for thy pleasure they are and were created.
Hallelujah! Amen.

This hymn is addressed exclusively to God, for its object is described as "Him that sat on the throne" and "that liveth for ever and ever" (Rev. iv. 10, 11). To it may be prefixed that which, as being sung day and night (ver. 8), may be called

*The perpetual Anthem of the Skies.*

Holy, holy, Lord God Almighty,
Which was, and which is, and which is to come.
I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end,
Saith Jehovah,
Which is, and which was, and which is to come,
The Almighty!

Glory and honour and thanks
To Him who sitteth on the throne
And liveth for ever and ever!
Amen.

One song of the primitive church preserved in the Apocalypse bears an emphatic as well as distinctive name. It is called "The Song of Moses, the Servant of God, and the Song of the Lamb" (Apoc. xv. 3). The words imply that here is a commemoration of the union of the old and the new dispensation in one hymn of praise to the common Author and Guardian of both. It is worthy of note that the name of Christ does not occur in the ode, while the spirit of Christ breathes in the universal extent of his influence, contrasting favourably with the merely national spirit of Judaism.

*The Song of Moses and of the Lamb.*

Great and marvellous are thy works,
Lord God Almighty!
Just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints!
Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name?
For thou only art holy!
For all nations shall come and glorify thee,
For thy judgments are made manifest.

Our next specimen introduces Christ as an object of direct address (v. 9, i. 17, iv. 11).

*A new Song addressed to the Lamb.*

1*st Choir.* Thou art worthy to take the book
And to open the seals thereof;
For thou wast slain,
And hast redeemed us to God by thy blood,
Out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation,
And hast made us unto God kings and priests,
And we shall reign on the earth.

2*nd Choir.* Worthy is the Lamb that was slain
To receive power and riches and wisdom and strength,
And honour and glory and blessing.

*The two Choirs.* Blessing and honour and glory and power
Be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne,
And unto the Lamb,
For ever and ever.
Amen.

Another hymn, the materials for which are furnished in the Apocalypse, introduces Jesus as addressing his disciples in terms of admonition and encouragement, and so may be termed

*The Messiah's Hymn of Promise.*

1*st Choir.* I am the first and the last;
I am he that liveth and was dead,
And am alive for evermore!
Amen.

And have the keys of death and hell!
He that overcometh,
The same shall be clothed in fine raiment;
And I will not blot out his name out of the book of life,
But I will confess his name before my Father and before his angels.

*2nd Choir.* He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

*The two Choirs.* Thou art worthy, O Jehovah,
To receive glory and honour and power.
For thou hast created all things,
And for thy pleasure they are and were created!
Hallelujah! Amen.

It is a part of the poetic imagery of the Apocalypse to introduce its *dramatis personæ* as living and present beings. Thus the four beasts (whatever they may represent) are brought bodily on the stage and made to open their mouths in praise of God (iv. 6, seq.). After the same manner Christ is introduced, and being introduced is naturally addressed. Christ is not only introduced, but speaks, and describes himself as the first and the last, as he that liveth and was dead. Clearly speaking of spiritual relations, he declares himself the first-born from the dead in the new dispensation as well as the last prophet of the old, and so the connecting link between the two. That bond of union was perpetual; for in regard to the gospel he was alive for evermore, and superintended his church with a view to the salvation of the world and the glory of God his Father. That glory is celebrated in

*The Apocalyptic Hymn of Triumph.*

*1st Choir.* Alleluia!
Salvation and glory
And honour and power
Unto the Lord our God!
For true and righteous are his judgments;
He hath avenged the blood of his servants.
Alleluia!

*2nd Choir.* Praise our God, all ye his servants,
And ye that fear Him, both small and great.
Alleluia!
For the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!

*The two combined.* Let us be glad and rejoice,
And give honour to Him;
For the marriage of the Lamb is come,
And his wife hath made herself ready.
Alleluia!

If now we lay aside the Bible and look around for fresh materials, we find nearly a blank.* Two or three compositions, early

* See "The Recorded Early Hymns and Forms of Thanksgiving" in Bunsen's "Church and House Book," Vol. II. of his "Christianity and Mankind."

in origin no doubt, but of uncertain date, offer themselves to our eyes. The first is called

*An Evening Hymn.*

Blessed art thou, O Lord: teach me thy statutes.
Lord, thou hast been our dwelling-place in all generations.
I said, Lord, be merciful unto me;
Heal my soul, for I have sinned against thee.
Lord, I flee unto thee to hide me.
Teach me to do thy will,
For thou art my God.
For with thee is the fountain of life;
In thy light shall we see light.
O continue thy loving-kindness unto them that know thee.

Similar in character is

*The Evening Hymn of the Apostolic Constitutions.*

Praise, O ye servants, the Lord,
Praise the name of the Lord.
We praise thee, we sing unto thee, we bless thee,
On account of thy great glory.
O Lord, the King, Father of Christ,
Of the spotless Lamb which taketh away the sins of the world:
It behoveth to praise thee;
It behoveth to sing unto thee;
It behoveth to glorify thee, God and Father,
Through the Son, in the Holy Spirit,
For ever and ever.
Amen.

These two compositions bear the image of the oldest form of Christian song, though the line beginning, "Through the Son," shews a marked Christian influence and denotes a later age than the preceding hymns. Still the song of the church is purely scriptural and as such strictly Unitarian.

We are, however, on the eve of a change. The hymns of the church now come to contain more of Christ and less of God. Direct addresses to Christ are accordingly less infrequent. As a specimen we give

*A Morning Hymn.*

Glory be to God on high,
And on earth peace, goodwill among men.
We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee,
We give thanks to thee for thy great glory,
O Lord, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty,
Lord God!
O Lord, the only-begotten Son,
Jesus Christ,
That takest away the sins of the world,
Have mercy upon us;
Thou that takest away the sins of the world,
Have mercy upon us,

Receive our prayer;
Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father,
Have mercy upon us!
For thou only art holy,
Thou only art the Lord, O Jesus Christ,
To the glory of God the Father.
Amen.

Though this ode shuts up all "to the glory of God the Father," it marks a serious step in the downward direction. In the entreaty here put up to Christ the evil has begun.

J. R. B.

(To be continued.)

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## NOTES OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE NEWINGTON-GREEN CONGREGATION AND OF THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF ISLINGTON.

The recent renovation of this ancient place of worship has drawn some degree of attention to its history, and in the pages of the *Inquirer* some particulars have been given respecting it, which many of our readers have doubtless read with considerable interest. They are chiefly taken from Lewis's valuable History of Islington, and we are, we believe, warranted in ascribing this portion of the work to Rev. Dr. Cromwell, the present minister of Newington-Green chapel. Being in possession of some particulars not included in Dr. Cromwell's narrative, we propose, at the request of that gentleman, to call attention to them in the present article. They are derived from various historical and biographical works, from old pamphlets, and in part from the late Walter Wilson's valuable MS. collections left by him to the Trustees of Dr. Williams's Library.

Newington Green is a hamlet in the parishes of Islington and Stoke Newington. Three sides of the Green are in the former, but the north side, in which the chapel is built, is in the parish of Stoke Newington. The district has from the time of the Reformation been in some degree under Nonconformist influences. This is easily explained by its contiguity to the Metropolis, its comparatively secluded position, and its having always been a favourite residence of persons of the middle social rank.

Islington was a favourite place of resort of the persecuted Protestants in the dark days of Queen Mary. To terrify them, Bonner appointed one of the scenes in which he delighted to be enacted here, and on the 17th of September, 1557, James Austoo and Margery his wife and two others (in the language of Fox) "most joyfully ended their lives in one fire at Islington for the testimony of Christ." Protestantism was not, however, to perish in the fires that destroyed the martyrs' bodies. Before the close

of that same year, a number of persons were arrested at the Saracen's Head at Islington, where, under the guise of seeing a play, many artizans and traders, with one or two ministers, had assembled to receive the communion according to the mode in use in the latter days of King Edward VI. On the 22nd of December, ten days only after the arrest, John Rough, the minister, perished in the flames at Smithfield. In the spring of the following year (1558), Fox tells us, a certain company of godly and innocent persons, to the number of forty men and women, assembled secretly in a back close in the field by the town of Islington, and while sitting together at prayer and virtuously occupied in the meditation of God's holy word, were pounced on by the constable, and twenty-two of them were haled to Newgate, of whom thirteen bore their testimony to the truth in the flames of martyrdom. Some of these sufferers found before their death that there were dungeons worse than those of Newgate; for they were transferred to the palace at Fulham and immured in the "coal-house" of the Bishop. One of them, Stephen Cotton by name, was twice scourged by the Bishop's own hands. A letter of Bonner's to Cardinal Pole relating to this man and his companions exists in the Petyt MSS. preserved in the Inner Temple,* and, without any other evidence, is enough to make us despise the modern pleas of Maitland and others in behalf of the savage persecutor. We cannot forbear a single extract, in which the Bishop talks of the death of his victims in the style in which a farmer would speak of a part of his stock destined for the nearest market or shambles:

"Further may it please your Grace concernyng these obstinate heretikes that doe remaine in my house, pestering the same and doyng much hurte many wayes, some order may be taken with theym; and in myn opinion, as I shewed your Grace and my Lord Chanceler, it should doe well to have them brent *(burnt)* in Hammersmythe, a myle from my house here; for then can I giff sentence agaynst theym here in the parish churche very quietly and without tumult; and having the shireff present, as I can have hym, he without busynes or stirre [can] put theym to execution in the saide place, when otherwise the thinge [will need a] day in Paule's, and with moor comberance then now it nedeth.—July, 1558."

Passing on to the religious history of Stoke Newington a century later, we find the pulpit of the parish church occupied by the celebrated Dr. Thomas Manton. He was presented to the living by the Hon. Col. Popham, in whom and in his lady he found generous friends. His labours at Stoke Newington continued for seven years, and so strong was the feeling of respect

* First published, with some admirable remarks by John Bruce, Esq., in the Athenæum, Oct. 27, 1855; more recently reprinted by the late Mr. Gorham in his valuable collection entitled, "Reformation Gleanings," pp. 374—378.

and confidence which he excited towards himself, that his counsels and example guided the religious course of many of his people long after his pastoral relation to them had ceased.

The love of religious liberty and the habit of Nonconformity had become settled principles in the minds of many of the residents of Islington and the adjacent hamlets, so that when the Act of Uniformity drove the Two Thousand from their livings, there were many in Newington Green and elsewhere to side with and befriend the ejected clergy, and to listen, as occasion served, to their preaching. The whole district around Newington Green was resorted to by several of the ministers whom the National Church, with singular want of wisdom, had driven from its communion. Here they were able with comparative safety to establish academies for the education both of ministers and the laity. Among the eminent instructors we may name Mr. Doolittle, Mr. Thos. Vincent, Theophilus Gale, Mr. Wickins, Mr. Rowe and Mr. Charles Morton; and among their more illustrious pupils, Matthew Henry, John Shower, Thomas Emlyn, Edmund Calamy and Daniel Defoe.

Newington Green was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a very secluded spot, lying quite off the high road to Ware, surrounded by meadows and gardens, and the whole of the district abounding in forest trees of the largest size. It preserved till about 1750 some of the characteristics of a wilderness, —remarkable enough when its vicinity to the great city is remembered.

Too often the early history of our Presbyterian houses of prayer is shrouded in impenetrable obscurity. When the constable and apparitors were constantly hunting up evidences of Nonconformity to bring those inclined to it under the lash of persecuting laws, no records would be preserved and no minutes would be made. It is only from faint traditions and casual and slight expressions in contemporary letters and diaries that we can learn the names of the brave and pious men whom we honour as our religious ancestors, or the places where they were wont, in defiance of the law against conventicles, to assemble at midnight or at the dawn of day, and at other times when the lynx eye of persecution was closed, or the pastors from whom they received spiritual instruction.

One effect of persecution was to make its victims forget their differences, and during the twenty-eight dreary years of disappointment, wrong and perfidy to which the Nonconformists were exposed after the Restoration, Independents and Presbyterians often lost sight of their lines of demarcation, put aside their jealousies, and joined with pious unanimity in the same religious services, receiving with an eager spiritual hunger the bread of life indifferently from ministers of the one denomination or of the other. In the slight notices of early Nonconformist worship

at Newington Green, we find traces of both Presbyterian and Congregational influence. Private houses were of necessity the places of meeting when the persecution was hottest. Sometimes worship was celebrated in the house of Mr. Morton, sometimes at that of Mrs. Mogat or Major Thompson, Mr. Barksdale and Mr. Hewling.* The last name has been familiarized to the reading public of England by the pathetic account given by Lord Macaulay of the Jeffries' butcheries in the West. And as Defoe names (State of Parties, p. 320, quoted by Walter Wilson, Life of Defoe, I. 22) *Hewling* and others of the Western martyrs as having been the companions of his studies at Newington Green, we may conclude that the Mr. Hewling who opened his house for Nonconformist worship there was the head of the family of that name to which the victims at Taunton belonged. Defoe says that these unfortunate persons would, had they lived, have proved "extraordinary men of their kind."

Secluded as Newington Green and parts of Islington were, the Nonconformists of the seventeenth century who had sought refuge there were, like their predecessors in godliness of the previous century, tracked and harried by the agents of the ecclesiastical powers of the day. One pastor and tutor was compelled to break up his establishment and fly to a different part of the suburbs of London, and another to quit his country altogether.

Dr. Calamy states that the early congregation at Newington Green was chiefly composed "of such as had been hearers of Dr. Manton at Stoke Newington and could not fall in with the ecclesiastical establishment." (Continuation, p. 104.) Eventually two distinct societies were formed, one at Stoke Newington, which was carried on by the Independents, and this at Newington Green, which belonged to the Presbyterians. Of the Stoke Newington congregation we will only remark, that it long enjoyed the services of Mr. Joseph Cawthorn, the ejected minister of Stamford, and who was the associate and intimate friend of the then minister of Newington Green.

We shall now give a few particulars of the early ministers of Newington Green, following for the most part the order of their succession as given by Mr. Walter Wilson.

The first name is James Ashurst, a graduate of Oxford, who suffered ejectment from a fellowship in Magdalen College. Born of a respectable family and possessed of a competent estate, he devoted himself to study, and had through life the retired habits of the student. His attainments in ecclesiastical history were considerable, and attracted the notice and praise of his neighbour, Mr. Charles Morton. Settling at Newington Green, he willingly, as the times gave him opportunity, preached to his Nonconformist neighbours. He is characterized by Calamy as a serious and

* See Walter Wilson's MSS.

good man, a judicious divine, a methodical and profitable preacher, and who, though less known by his contemporaries than he deserved to be, was a considerable man. The year of his death is not specified, and no works bearing his name have come down to us. It is not improbable that he was kinsman to Sir Henry Ashurst, the friend of Richard Baxter.

The next name is also one of the noble Two Thousand. Samuel Lee was descended from the ancient family of Lee in Cheshire. The son of a wealthy citizen of London, he enjoyed the best advantages for education, studying first under Dr. Gale at St. Paul's School, and afterwards at Wadham College, Oxford. He was elected to a fellowship in his College, and was Proctor of the University in 1650, Dr. John Owen being then Vice-chancellor. On leaving Oxford, he was appointed, as Anthony Wood says, "without any orders from a Bishop, by Oliver to the ministry of St. Botolph's church, Bishopsgate, but ejected afterwards thence by the Rump Parliament." He was next appointed to the lectureship at Great St. Helen's church in London. The same author states that he did not lose any preferment on the passing of the Act of Uniformity, "because he had none to lose." He settled on his own estate at Bicester in Oxfordshire, and opened his house as a place of worship. He was rather Independent than Presbyterian, but joined neither party exclusively. In 1678, he removed to Newington Green, where Anthony Wood states he carried on his profession for some years. In that year he published two discourses, of which we have in vain sought a sight, entitled, "Ecclesia Gemens—the Mournful State of the Church, with a Prospect of her Dawning Glory." He also united in that same year with Dr. Giles Fletcher in a publication respecting the ancient and successive state of the Jews, with some scripture evidences of their future conversion and establishment in their own land. He had previously printed, in an appendix to the "Vale Royal of England," the "Chronicon Cestrense—an Exact Chronology of all the Rulers and Governors of Cheshire and Chester," &c.; and the University of Oxford had published his elaborate work on Solomon's Temple, which he entitled, "Orbis Miraculum" (Lond. 1659, folio). When in the reign of James II. the political and religious horizon became so dark, Mr. Lee, fearing the destruction of English liberty and the introduction of Popery, resolved to emigrate to New England. This he effected with his family in 1686. He was received by the friends of religion and learning in America with respect and almost enthusiasm. These are the glowing words of Cotton Mather respecting him, in his "Magnalia Christi Americana:" "If learning ever merited a statue, this great man has as rich an one due to him as can be erected, for it must be granted that hardly ever a more universally learned person trod the American strand. Live, oh rare Lee, live, if not in our works, yet in thy

own; ten or twelve of which, which have seen the light, will immortalize thee. But above all, thy book, De Excidio Anti-Christi, shall survive and assist the funeral of the monster whose nativity is therein with such exquisite study calculated; and thy book entituled Orbis Miraculum, or the Temple of Solomon, shall proclaim thee to be a miracle for thy vast knowledge, and a pillar in the temple of thy God."

He was chosen pastor of a congregation at New Bristol, but his heart was in his native land; and when tidings crossed the Atlantic of the happy Revolution, and a call came to him from a congregation in England, he hastened to return. The sequel shall be told in the words of Anthony Wood: "At length this learned Nonconformist, returning with his family to Old England, they were, with the ship wherein they were harboured, taken with a French privateer near their journey's end, in the month of November, 1691; so that, they being all conveyed to St. Maloe's, a sea-port town in Upper Bretaigne, in France, our author Lee was so much overwhelmed with grief for his captivity and loss of his money and goods, that he died in a manner heart-broken; whereupon being denied Christian burial, because he refused to die in the faith of the Roman see, was obscurely buried about Christmas following in a poor piece of ground joyning to a river's side near to that city, where we shall leave him to expect the last trump, unless any of his relatives will hereafter remove his body to his native country of England." Calamy explains that grief at being separated from his wife and child, who were shipped to England while he was detained a prisoner, brought on a fever, under which he sunk, in the 64th year of his age. Some years after his death there was published a little practical work entitled, "Contemplations upon Mortality." A copy of this very rare book is before us. It is dedicated to his father, in an Epistle bearing date July 30, 1669. The testimony it contains to his father's watchful parental love is interesting.

"My testimony respects a gratefull acknowledgment of your singular goodness, unwearied kindness and tender love from my birth upward. When reason budded, your wholsome and godly counsels ever dropt as rain, your speech as dew, as smal rain upon the tender herb, and as showres upon the grass. The warmth of your affection cherisht me under the divine influence into a flower: your wisdome then transplanted me into the nurseries of grace and learning, and at length to the Muses garden at Oxford. It was ever your pious care to place me under the shadow of holy Tutors. I magnifie God and thankfully acknowledge your prudence and love. My body indeed was ever but tender and weak: your affections strong and vigorous, your charges great, your sollicitous thoughts were ever wakefull, that no unkind storm might blow upon me. I prosper'd, for God was with you, your prayers went up, his blessing came down, and lo, by the grace of God I hope your labour hath not been altogether in vain in the Lord."

The work itself is a very remarkable one, full of learning and eloquence, sometimes disfigured by bad taste, and too generally tinctured by the harsh and painful ideas, so prevalent among the Puritan preachers of his day, springing from a religion of fear rather than of love.

Thus sternly does he dwell on the terrors of the grave to the irreligious:

"'Tis but lean comfort for haugthy and big looks which the Lord abhors, to be humbled into these dark holes: where their costly sepulchrall lamps shine with but a dim and blew light, to search what impudent insects dare so boldly to crawl up and down their entrails, and scorn to give account to their summons. For a living worm counts himself more honourable then a putrifying monarch.

"Here, on this side the grave, after every meal they must have a fit of musick to digest their varieties, and a sad poor fool must come in with his patches to make them merry: But he that mocketh the poor (whether in purse or parts) reproacheth his Maker, and he that is glad at calamities shall not be unpunished.

"Their gluttonous feasts shall have sour sauce of deaths cooking; and no doctor can sweat away the surfeits of conscience: When death hath once shook them by the shoulder into the grave, *hee'l* call also for a lesson at his table, and the satyrs shall play low funeral-songs upon the lute-strings of their perishing nerves, and dance in their courses: while they are *here*, they rise from their gormandizing platters to play at cards for whole parks, and fling the dice for ancient mannors: But *there* flaming devills will hurl *their* bones about, from under the altar, and the chancell rails without sacriledge and thrust their own rapiers red hot into their bushy pates, and make those hairy comets to burn for warning beacons: O then, they would fain prevail with Father *Abraham* to send messengers to their five brethren upon earth to testifie to them, lest they also come to this place of torment: *Here* after the game at tables is ended, they hurry away with coach and six horses in haste to hear a sermon at the play-house, and are very well edified, fully instructed and take notes of the ready way how to reach hell speedily: But *there* death and his master will handle them without mittens, hee'l force no court complements upon them: There's a king of a fierce countenance, understanding dark sayings, will speak as big and as rough as they taunted to the poor, he will make them bend the knee, and do suit and service at his court-baron: *There* they shall hear the jailors long-winded lecture upon a sharp and cutting text, and can't get out of his chappell though they sit at the lower end, hee'l keep them from sleeping, and gash their memories with the keen knife of his tongue, about the many Sabbaths they profaned, and the means of grace they contemned; how they mockt at repentance, and loll'd out the tongue at precisenesse; hee'l gripe them with the holy examples, meek admonitions of saints and their patient sufferings for the truth at their barbarous hands: They'l have cold stomachs to jeer and fleere in the face of this conscience-scalding preacher; hee'l chain the blessed Bible to the desk of their pews; which they had laid aside like an old almanack: Now it comes in date at this year of reckoning. Hee'l prove to their faces, how they have slighted the heavy judgments of the late dreadfull pestilence, the

astonishing fire, and the colour of the British seas, crimson'd and diaper'd with the blood of their brethren: hee'l gaul them with their base ingratitude in slighting the mercies of the great God, who gave them reprievall and survivall after all these dismall *mementos*. But now has delivered them *from* the pestilence, and *from* the sword and *from* the famine, *into* the hands of this dismall king of *Assyria:* hee'l once more rub up their dull senses with sharp rebukes, about the numerous checks of conscience, and the loud calls of the spirit, which then they injoyed, but now they may howl after, without any pitty: and that which shall vex them to the heart, hee'l ever be harping and grating odiously upon the same string, and jarring in their ears, and rubbing the old sore about their lost opportunities and seasons of grace: This shall be a plain and home sermon, such as before they scoft at: here will be no flowers of rhetorick to set off truth to the squeazy palate of a sermon-sick lady: here will be no fear to displease greatness, here's no trencher-chaplains to soften expressions, least the great churl stomack at sound reproofs, that might save his soul: No, these dayes are past! here's no impatient lookings at the hour-glasse when the last sand drops, to be gone to dinner; here's no being glad at sleevelesse errands to steal away through the croud, and choak conscience with this flam: that a little's enough if well practised: No! here's a preacher will hold them to it, and taunt, and twit them with the day of repentance being over, and chain them to their seats, and lock them in the stocks, as they once did the saints in *Lollards*-Tower; till the trump of the resurrection sounds an alarum to judgment."

There was for a short time united with Mr. Lee a Mr. Samuel Cox, who was afterwards settled at Ealing. Of him we know no particulars.

The next name that may be mentioned as pastor of the Newington-Green congregation is that of Charles Morton, the eminent tutor.

For the statement that Mr. Charles Morton was one of the pastors of the congregation, we cannot desire better authority than that of Mr. Walter Wilson, who, as the biographer of Defoe, had sought from every source information respecting the Newington-Green Academy, and the "polite and profound scholar" who was at its head. On the 6th of November, 1681, it is recorded that Mr. Joseph Hussey, afterwards the founder of Nonconformity in Cambridge, preached in lieu of his former tutor, Mr. Chas. Morton, to the congregation at Newington Green in the house of Mrs. Mogat.* He lived there twenty years, but was again and again "exposed to the frequent intrusion of spies and informers," and "teazed with continual processes in the Bishop's court," till, worn out by a series of vexations from which he saw no prospect of deliverance, he quitted England a few years before the Revolution and sought an asylum in New England. He was received with open arms by the people of his adopted country, was elected pastor of a church at Charlestown, and appointed to

* Walter Wilson's MSS.

the Vice-presidency of Harvard College. It is rather remarkable that Mr. Morton's name is, we believe, not mentioned by Mr. S. A. Eliot in his "Sketch of the History of Harvard College." But we learn from that interesting volume that Increase Mather (a "leading spirit" of New England) was the President of Harvard College at that time. A mission to England took Mather away from the College for several years. We may therefore the more easily credit Walter Wilson's statement that Morton introduced important improvements in the system of teaching at Harvard. Copies of systematic treatises of science which he introduced, and which he had previously used at Newington Green, are preserved in the cabinet of the Historical Society. He lived about twelve years after his settlement at Charlestown, dying April, 1697.

In one respect he differed from many of his learned contemporaries, inasmuch as he regarded a *great* book as a great evil. His own works were for the most part brief and pithy. Few of them are now known, except a discourse on the physical and literal sense of Jeremiah viii. 7, in which he discusses the natural history of season birds, and an admirable paper of "Advice to Candidates for the Ministry," and a paper on the improvement of the county of Cornwall. The first has been preserved in the Harleian Miscellany, Vol. II. p. 578 (Sir Walter Scott's edition), the second in Calamy's "Continuation," pp. 198—210, and the third in the Transactions of the Royal Society for 1675. It is an indication of the extreme rarity of his pamphlets that not one of them (we believe) exists in Dr. Williams's Library, the shelves of which are reputedly rich in pamphlet and Nonconformist literature. He was personally known in both England and America to Dunton, the eccentric Nonconformist bookseller, whose portrait of him is sufficiently attractive: "His conversation shewed him a gentleman. He was the very soul of philosophy; the several MSS. he writ for the use of his private academy sufficiently shewed this. His discourses were not stale or studied, but always new or occasional; for whatever subject was at any time started, he had still some pleasant and pat story for it. His sermons were high, but not soaring; practical, but not low. His memory was as vast as his knowledge, yet, so great was his humility, he knew it the least of any man. He was as far from pride as ignorance, and, if we may judge of a man's religion by his charity, he was a sincere Christian." (Dunton's Life and Errors, p. 171.) For other particulars of Charles Morton we must refer our readers to Wilson's Life of Defoe, I. 24—26, and to Calamy's Account of the Ejected Ministers, p. 144. His name ought to appear in Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, as he was both a writer and a graduate of Oxford, being a student at Wadham College, where he attracted the friendly regards of Dr. John Wilkins, then Master of that College, afterwards Bishop of Chester.

The next minister who gave his services at Newington Green was Rev. John Starkey. He had, like his predecessors, attested the sincerity of his religious profession by abandoning for conscience' sake an honourable and not unlucrative position in the Established Church. He was, when the time of trial came, in 1662, Cambden lecturer at Grantham. Quitting his living and the town, he settled at Ormskirk, in Lancashire, where he attended the services of the parish clergyman, whom he respected, and when the public service was over conducted his own Nonconformist worship in private. The six last years of his life were passed at Newington Green. Modest, charitable and mild, he lived beloved and died lamented. His pulpit services were prepared with the utmost care, and procured him the reputation of being an excellent preacher. It was on him that Dr. Wm. Bates, of Hackney, pronounced the eulogium, "that though he much affected retirement, he was fit for the first auditory in England." We have on a former occasion (C. R., Vol. XII. p. 9) surmised that Mr. Starkey while at Grantham would preach before Sir Isaac Newton in his youthful days. By turning to the reference, our readers will find other particulars respecting Mr. Starkey. He died in 1662, and his funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Timothy Rogers.

The name of another venerable Bartholomew confessor is to be added to the not brief roll of Newington-Green worthies,—Mr. William Wickins, a preacher in the city of London, who was deprived of the living of St. George's, Southwark, at the Restoration, and of his appointment at the Poultry Compter, by the Act of Uniformity. He was one whose Nonconformity cost him a not inconsiderable part of his livelihood. He found an asylum for a considerable time in the family of Alderman Forth, of Hackney, and was then united with Mr. Starkey in pastoral duty at Newington Green. He was a good Grecian and Hebraist, and commonly read the Scriptures, translating as he went, from the original. In oriental learning he was, more than most ministers, well versed. He was, among other pamphlets, the author of one entitled, "The Warrant for bowing at the Name of Jesus produced and examined. 1660." Dr. Calamy says he "fell asleep," Sept. 1699, "worn out with age and labour." After the death of Mr. Starkey, he had been united with a younger colleague, who paid the last tribute to his worth, from Acts xiii. 36. It is an interesting fact that Mr. Wickins was one of the six ministers who joined in the ordination of Matthew Henry, thus forming a not unimportant link between the Church of England and the long roll of Nonconformist ministers. This is an apostolic succession as well worth claiming as that advanced with no small pretension by some of our national clergy.

The colleague and successor of Mr. Wickins introduces us to another generation in the history of Nonconformity,—the pupils

of the ejected ministers, the first fruits of the private academies which became necessary when the doors of the universities were shut. The establishment of these schools was a pregnant proof of their faith in the vitality of Nonconformity, and their conduct of them, in the face of many obstacles and losses, was equally honourable to their constancy.

Mr. Joseph Bennet, the son and grandson of a clergyman, received his training under Mr. Charles Morton. He was publicly ordained, together with Dr. Calamy and four others,—the first public ceremony of the kind known amongst the English Nonconformists. He was a Nonconformist upon principle, but was catholic in his feelings, loving the image of God wherever he saw it. As a preacher he was rather solid than lively. Between Mr. Bennet and Mr. Cawthorne, the neighbouring Independent minister, there was habitual intercourse and warm personal friendship. Mr. Bennet removed about 1707 to London, to assist Mr. Shower. His death occurred Feb. 21, 1726, in the 62nd year of his age. It was in the ministry of Mr. Bennet's successor that the chapel as it appeared until recently was erected. We may suppose that that ancient, simple and somewhat quaint structure, with its two elm-trees mounting guard in front, was known to many of our readers.

Rev. John Russell was the pastor, according to Mr. Walter Wilson's memoranda, about ten years, 1704—1714. Of him we learn some particulars from the sermon preached at Newington Green after his death by his friend Mr. Nesbitt, Nov. 28, 1714. He lost his father in his infancy. He was brought up by his mother religiously, and imbued with the principles of moderate Nonconformity. When the plan of his higher education had to be settled, his mother was urged to send him to Oxford, and the advice was backed by the offer of an exhibition and the prospect of preferment afterwards. The remark of the youth was, "The gentleman should have first proved that the communion to which he would have me belong was the purest Church, and not have insisted only on its preferments as the reason for joining it." Mr. Russell deliberately counted the cost of his Nonconformity, and deliberately and from conviction united himself with the Presbyterian Dissenters. Earnest and successful in his studies, he became a close student of scripture, reading it critically in its original tongues. After spending some years very usefully as tutor in an honourable family, he entered upon the duties of the ministry. As a preacher, his eulogist records that his doctrine was truth according to godliness; he did not care to feed his hearers with intricate disputes, impertinent subtleties or useless niceties, but with the bread of life and the truths that are especially connected with eternal life and happiness.

Hitherto the records of the succession of pastors and preachers at Newington has told without exception in favour of Protestant

Nonconformity, and the strength of principle of those who committed themselves to it. But now we enter on a new phase of the Dissenting interest, and find some, and those too of the more learned and accomplished of the Dissenting preachers, looking wistfully towards the Established Church, and presently renouncing their painful Nonconformity. It was not so much that the tide of Nonconformity which set in so strongly in 1662 had lost its vigour. But the stream had unfortunately lost much of its purity. Dissenters had forgotten their first principle, respect for private judgment, and Nonconformist churches and assemblies were for imposing upon ministers and laity rigid and unscriptural terms of communion. At the same time, the Church of England, forgetting its strictly defined terms of communion as laid down in her Articles and Creeds, was becoming lax alike in doctrine and discipline, and doctrinal speculations having little consistency with the symbols of the Church were finding favour with many of the clergy. This tendency was some years after greatly increased by the countenance given by the accomplished queen of George II. to latitudinarian and even heretical clergymen. This state of things would prove a source of embarrassment and temptation to men of scholarly habits, with a taste for the refinements of literature and society, who felt an increasing repugnance to the coarse spirit of theological dogmatism and exaction which pervaded the more orthodox Dissenters. Practically, they might think they should enjoy a greater degree of liberty within than without the pale of the Established Church; and shutting their eyes to the inconsistency of "subscribing slave" in order to gain freedom, they parted with their spiritual birthright.

The minister now to be named was Richard Biscoe. He had studied for the ministry amongst the Dissenters at the academy of Dr. Benyon, of Shrewsbury, and was ordained at Mr. Simon Browne's meeting-house in the Old Jewry, Dec. 19, 1716. The charge was delivered by Dr. Calamy. Others were ordained at the same time, amongst whom were Mr. George Smyth, of Hackney, and Mr., afterwards Dr., S. Chandler. He was, we may suppose, at the time of his ordination minister at Newington Green, and so continued until about 1726. He then conformed, and received ordination in one year as both deacon and priest. His reward was early preferment, and he obtained in 1726 the rectory of St. Martin Outwich. The rapidity of his obtaining full orders and his speedy preferment indicate the appreciation of the advantage secured to the Established Church by his conformity. He was afterwards promoted to the rectory of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, a living before and since filled by men of considerable repute. He justified by his performances the expectations of those who had aided him to preferment, and obtained a good reputation as a scriptural scholar and a preacher. Of this the proof is, that he was appointed in the years 1736, 1737

and 1738, the Boyle Lecturer. He chose for his subject, "The History of the Acts of the Holy Apostles confirmed from other Authors, and considered as full Evidence of the Truth of Christianity; with a Prefatory Discourse upon the Nature of that Evidence." This series of discourses was published by him in 1742, and immediately attracted attention and approval. Dr. Doddridge afterwards praised the book as "an elaborate and learned work," and otherwise spoke respectfully of its author. His opinion has been confirmed by theologians even to the present day, and several reprints of the work have been made, and within a few years by the University of Oxford. Whether in consequence of this performance or independently of it we know not, but Mr. Biscoe became chaplain in ordinary to George II.

When Mr. Biscoe quitted the ranks of the Dissenters, from whom, in common with those more distinguished lights of the Established Church, Butler and Secker, he had received the benefit of a learned education, he did not give to the public or to his friends (so far as our knowledge goes) any statement of his motives and grounds. Whether or not the remarks which we have made on introducing Mr. Biscoe's name will explain his conformity, our readers must judge. Mr. Biscoe died in the year 1748. We will only add the remarks of Dr. Toulmin (communicated to the Protestant Dissenters' Magazine, 1799, pp. 307, 308) suggested by Mr. Biscoe's conformity:

"A little after Mr. Biscoe conformed several other gentlemen took the same step: of which number were Mr. John Horsley, Mr. John Johnson, Mr. Hay, Mr. Madox, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, Mr. Quintus Naylor, Mr. Myonet, Mr. Turnsey, &c. And others did the same at the time he did; as Mr. Seagre, Mr. Butler, who became Bishop of Durham, Mr. Thomas Secker, who afterwards rose to the see of Canterbury, Mr. Halset, Mr. Standen, of Newbury, the two Jacombs, Mr. Bellamy, and Mr. Billio, eldest son to Mr. Billio, who succeeded Dr. Bates at Hackney. The same course was likewise taken, at no great distance of time, by the younger son of Mr. Billio; Mr. Strickland Gough, whose father died a minister among the Dissenters at Bristol; Mr. Benjamin Owen, a nephew of Mr. James Owen, and Mr. Orr, who went to Ireland; Mr. Thomas Harrison, and Mr. Richards in Leicestershire; Mr. Winter and Mr. Inman.

"Dr. Calamy, from whom the preceding list is taken, speaking of these gentlemen, says, 'Those who now conformed were generally persons of sobriety and unblemished characters; and might, therefore, be received and caressed by those whom they fell in with, with the better grace. It was easy to be observed and much taken notice of, that most of them who conformed about this time complained much of a spirit of imposition that was working among the Dissenters, which discovered itself in the proceedings at Salters-hall, and upon some other occasions, after the debates among them about the Trinity grew warm: and that some who complained much and with great eagerness of this as a great hardship and discouragement, and inveighed against it with freedom, threw themselves into a church and legal establishment that was very strict for full subscription, and left no room nor scope, for those that

were intrusted with the care of the constitution, to 'make the least allowance for abatements, in compliance with the difficulties that might be started by such as were scrupulous and tender spirited. This was, by many, apprehended to have but an odd aspect, and not to be very consistent. And it may possibly have considerable consequences some time or other hereafter.'"*

The name of one of these conformists may be mentioned in connection with Newington, though not as a pastor. Isaac Madox, born in London, 1697, is said to have received the rudiments of his education at a charity-school. He afterwards studied at a Scottish university, and in his youth preached occasionally at Newington Green, to gratify an aunt of his who was a member of the congregation. He afterwards studied at Oxford, and having been ordained obtained preferment, and became successively Dean of Wells and Bishop of St. Asaph and Worcester. He shewed his gratitude to the Church which had so liberally fostered him, by publishing, in reply to Neal's History of the Puritans, a vindication of the government, doctrine and worship of the Church of England. He also took part in the hot controversy which arose on the nomination of the Arian Dr. Rundle, in 1734, to the see of Gloucester. Dr. Madox died in 1759.

For the list of ministers who served at Newington Green subsequently to the conformity of Mr. Biscoe, we must refer our readers to the *Inquirer*,† and to Lewis's History of Islington, contenting ourselves (1st) with the remark, that amongst them have been men whose names will ever be honoured by the friends of truth and freedom; and (2ndly) with offering our congratulation on the series of improvements in renovation and decoration which have been so successfully inaugurated by Dr. Cromwell, the present zealous minister of Newington-Green chapel.

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## HOW THE BENCH OF BISHOPS VOTED ON THE BILL OF ATTAINDER AGAINST ATTERBURY, AND WHY.

The Bill finally passed the Lords by eighty-three votes to forty-three. The Bishops, with a single exception, were in the majority. Their conduct drew on them a sharp taunt from Lord Bathurst, a warm friend of Atterbury and a zealous Tory. "The wild Indians," he said, "give no quarter, because they believe that they shall inherit the skill and prowess of every adversary whom they destroy. Perhaps the animosity of the Right Reverend Prelates to their brother may be explained in the same way."—*Lord Macaulay.*

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* Calamy's Life, MS. Vol. III. p. 242, &c.

† A correspondent of this journal has claimed for Newington-Green chapel the honour of having been resorted to by the great philanthropist, John Howard. We greatly doubt whether this statement can be substantiated. Howard was an Independent, and was the intimate friend of one of the ministers of the Independent chapel at Stoke Newington. He marked his interest in that place by a valuable benefaction.

## ADDITIONAL MEMORIALS OF DR. PRIESTLEY.

Mr. James Yates has just printed, with numerous corrections and additions, the Memorials of Dr. Priestley which appeared in our last volume. As this interesting pamphlet, the fruit of very extensive inquiries, is not designed for publication, and its circulation will be limited to the subscribers to the Oxford statue and to men of science, we gladly avail ourselves of Mr. Yates's kind permission to print some of the more important additions to the original article, and also to give a silouette of Priestley at Warrington in 1762, and a wood-cut of his coat of arms.

### The Chapel and House at Nantwich.

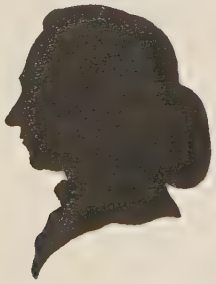
2. Partridge, in his Account of Nantwich, says, "The Presbyterian meeting-house at Nantwich is in Hospital Street, and is a good, decent building, to which appertains a convenient house for the minister." *Historical Account of the Town and Parish of Nantwich, Shrewsbury*, 1774, p. 82. The "house for the minister" remains in its original state; the inside of the meeting-house has been renewed. *Christian Reformer*, Jan. 1850, p. 56.*

### House at Warrington.

3. Dr. Priestley's house at Warrington still remains in Academy Place. An adjoining building is supposed to have been his laboratory. The house is little, if at all, changed in appearance. A view of it is given by Dr. Kendrick, and this has been copied by Mr. Henry A. Bright, B.A., in his *Historical Account of Warrington Academy, Liverpool*, 1859, contained in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. XI.

### Silouette.

6. During Priestley's residence at Warrington, an artist was employed in making silouettes of the principal inhabitants. Many



Priestley at Warrington, 1762.

* A letter from my old friend, Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., Nov. 21st, 1860, contains some authentic reminiscences of Priestley at this early stage in his public career. It appears, that besides the impediment in his speech, some of the old people at Sheffield thought him "too gay and airy;" and after his settlement at Nantwich, where he boarded with Mr. John Eddowes, a grocer, he sometimes shewed his agility and sprightliness by leaping over the counter.

of these have been published by Dr. Kendrick in his *Profiles of Warrington Worthies*. I have obtained a wood-cut from the silouette of Priestley, and placed it under the title of this tract. It shews the full-bottomed wig; the features juvenile and delicate.

### Caldwall's Engraving of Priestley and Lavoisier.

The two philosophers, thus brought into the same engraving, besides their juxta-position in the history of chemistry, were joint sufferers from the enmity of the populace and of their respective governments. Priestley, having been driven from house and home as represented below, Nos. 60, 61, was on his voyage to the United States in May, 1794, at the very time when Lavoisier was guillotined at Paris after the confiscation of his property. Such was the treatment bestowed upon the best of their citizens by two nations, which consider themselves as without exception the most civilized, cultivated, and enlightened in the world. How small, then, is the value of human applause! An eminent Italian, passing one day through Rome, another reputed leader in civilization, and seeing himself hanging in effigy on one side of the street, while the people were raising a statue to him on the other, said to his companion, "Vides, mi fili, quam leve discrimen patibulum inter et statuam."*

### Mr. Phipson's Wax Model of Priestley.

41. The late Mr. William Phipson, of Birmingham, in his youth made a model of Dr. Priestley's head in white wax upon blue glass. It belongs to his daughter, Miss Phipson, of Westbourne, near that town. It is 5 centimetres high. It differs from the last-mentioned works in having a shirt-frill, with coat and waistcoat, and a robe surrounding the lower part of the dress. In delicacy of execution it perhaps surpasses any other likeness of the philosopher. It was the original from which dies were sunk for the three medals next described.

### Academical Honours.

54. The Copley Medal, given to Priestley by the Royal Society in 1773, though very inferior in intrinsic value, is always regarded as the most honourable distinction bestowed by the Royal Society. Alexander von Humboldt, who received it in 1852, prized it above all the medals he possessed, and a few weeks before his death in 1859 wrote instructions for its perpetual preservation among the archives of his family.

### Ruins.

The text accompanying the "Views of the Ruins of the principal Houses destroyed during the Riots at Birmingham," contains

* "You see, my son, how little difference there is between a gibbet and a statue."

a minute and animated account of the conduct of the mob. It was written by Mr. Witton, with the assistance, more especially in the French translation, of the Rev. John Edwards, Dr. Priestley's eloquent successor at Birmingham. Philip Henry Witton, a descendant of the celebrated Philip Henry, was an amateur artist, who lived near Birmingham.

61. Another very remarkable document of the same kind is an oil-painting, the property of Joseph Parkes, Esq., having been given to him by Mrs. Sandars, relict of Mark Sandars, Esq., who had been one of Dr. Priestley's congregation. This picture represents the mob, with their banner inscribed CHURCH AND KING, in the very act of destroying Dr. Priestley's house: chairs, globes, bottles, apparatus, a wig, slippers, window-frames, books and pamphlets, a telescope, a bed-post, lying on the ground or falling from the windows: the more sober part of the rioters, both in the house and in the garden, in the most various attitudes, the drunken ones stretched out at length. "It was drawn from the spot and painted by Exted, a pupil of Hogarth's, a local artist and portrait painter. Several of the faces are portraits; among them the town-crier, with his public bell, a demon, who attended on the occasion to incite the mob."*

62. A very exact lithograph was made from this picture by Hulmandel.†

### LETTERS AND OTHER MS. DOCUMENTS.

63. A record of all the existing memorials of this class appears eminently desirable, with a view to the composition of any future biography of Priestley.

A fragment of Priestley's diary for 1754, in Peter Annet's short-hand, beginning April 29th and ending Dec. 31st, is the property of J. Barnard Davis, Esq., of Shelton, in Staffordshire. The writer "marks the hour at which he rose, and that at which he went to bed, every day." This fragment agrees with the account of his diaries given by his son in Memoirs, Vol. I. pp. 177—184.

64. The earliest packet of letters which remains were brought

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* Private letter from Mr. Joseph Parkes.

† Mr. Hunter, the Antiquary and Commissioner of Public Records, in the letter above quoted (p. 3), says,—"Great was the concern in our circle for the loss to science and to Priestley himself of his books and other valuables. The intelligence of the riot reached Sheffield on a Sunday morning, and I well remember the consternation in the chapel-yard when the news was received. It was thought that it was only a first blow, and that the other Presbyterian congregations might immediately expect a similar stroke. * * * I remember being struck, when in Birmingham in the year 1797, a schoolboy, with the vast profusion of memorials of him in various shapes, casts in wax, miniature pictures, and other things of that kind in the shops, in all parts of the town; but the most elegant of the collections of these toys was at a shop in New Street, kept by a person named Bisset."

to light by a singular accident. A man, who had bought a lump of butter at a shop in Liverpool, saw the well-known name of "Heywood" on the paper in which it was enveloped. He shewed it to a friend, who was a clerk in the bank of Messrs. Arthur Heywood, Sons, and Co., and who immediately recognized the signature of one of the founders of the bank in the middle of the last century. This discovery led to a further search, and through the prompt exertions of Henry A. Bright, Esq., a descendant of the same Mr. Heywood, a valuable collection of letters relating to the foundation of the Warrington Academy, in which Mr. Heywood had also been a prominent actor, was rescued from destruction. Sixteen of these letters were written by Joseph Priestley. Mr. Bright refers to them in the *Historical Sketch of Warrington Academy*, above quoted (No. 3), and Mr. Aspland has published large extracts from them in the *Christian Reformer* for Oct. 1854, pp. 625—629. The earliest, "Warrington, April 9th, 1762," is retained by Mr. Bright in his own possession, and is, I believe, the oldest remaining letter of Priestley. It mentions Mr. Canton as a friend of Mr. Seddon, to whom it is addressed. Mr. Bright has kindly given to me the letter dated "Warrington, May 1st, 1762," and I hope to insert this autograph in a curious and valuable collection of manuscript documents, engraved portraits, drawings, and photographs, illustrative of the life of Priestley.

65. "The Canton papers."—Professor De Morgan has given an account of these papers, with copious extracts, in the Athenæum of the year 1849, pp. 5, 162, 375. They derive their name and their chief importance from Mr. John Canton, F.R.S., whose descendant, Edwin Canton, entrusted them to Professor Wheatstone. By him they were presented to the Royal Society. So far as they relate to Dr. Priestley, they commence with the following letter of introduction from Mr. Seddon, of Warrington, which has the arms of the writer, with his motto, "Nec temerè, nec timidè."

"Warrington, Dec. 18, 1765.

"Sir,—As my friend, Dr. Priestley, tutor in the Languages and Belles Lettres here, is going up to town, and has a great desire of being introduced to you, I have undertaken to do him this kind office, not depending so much upon the small acquaintance I have with you myself, as encouraged to it by the polite and obliging manner in which I once had the pleasure of being received by you. You will probably have some knowledge of my friend, as author of a Chart of Biography, and of an Essay on Education, in which he animadverts upon Dr. Brown. You will find him a benevolent, sensible man, with a considerable share of learning. Besides the studies which belong to his profession, he has a taste for Natural Philosophy, which will not render him less agreeable to you. The liberty I now take with

you, I depend upon your goodness to excuse, and to permit me to acknowledge myself, Sir,

"Your obliged and obedient servant,

J. SEDDON.

"To Mr. Canton, Spittal Fields, London."

This journey to London and the Christmas spent there may be regarded as one of the most agreeable and momentous events in Priestley's life. He refers to it in a letter to Canton, commencing as follows:

"Warrington, Feb. 14, 1766.

"Dear Sir,—The time I had the happiness to spend in your company appears upon revision like a pleasing dream. I frequently enjoy it once again in recollection, and ardently wish for a repetition of it. I wish, but in vain, that it may ever be in my power to return in kind your generous communication of philosophical intelligence and discoveries. Judge, however, of my disposition by my readiness to impart to you the very little that I have to impart."

He concludes the letter by expressing his desire to become a Fellow of the Royal Society. This was accomplished by the friendly exertions of Canton, Price, Watson, the physician, and Franklin; and in support of his application he himself wrote a letter, also preserved in this collection and filling ten folio pages, in which he gives an account of his new experiments in Electricity. His admission into the Royal Society in June, 1766, at the age of 33, was a very distinguished honour. The "Canton papers" include nine more letters from Priestley to John Canton, two to his son, William Canton, and copies of two from John Canton to Priestley. There are also three letters in Weld's History of the Royal Society (I. 513, II. 51—54), which evidently belong to the same series.

66. "In the Library founded by Dr. Daniel Williams, 49, Redcross Street, Cripplegate, London, is preserved a large collection of original letters written by Dr. Priestley to his fellow-student, the Rev. Caleb Rotheram, and to his intimate friend and constant correspondent, the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey, from 1766 to 1803. Those to Lindsey are most numerous in the years 1789 and 1790, in the latter of which as many as thirty-four letters were received from the Doctor. With few exceptions, these letters to Rotheram and Lindsey are printed, more or less entirely, in Mr. Rutt's biographical volume, prefixed to his edition of Dr. Priestley's Works; they amount to the number of 191 letters, and include two pages of his "Notes on Isaiah," accompanying the letter of July 30, 1801.

"Combined in one chronological series with the foregoing, are eighteen original letters written by Dr. Priestley to the Rev.

Thomas Belsham; also one original letter from the Doctor to the late William Smith, Esq., many years M.P. for Norwich, dated April 18, 1793.

"Mr. Belsham bequeathed his own and his predecessor Mr. Lindsey's letters to Mr. Rutt, by whose widow (through the mediation of the Rev. B. Mardon, now of Sidmouth) they were deposited in the Redcross-Street Library, together with the following curious paper: an original article on "Air," written by Dr. Priestley, and briefly describing his own discoveries up to 1772 or thereabout; with some additional paragraphs, added by Dr. Calder, relative to the Royal Society's Medal, given to the Doctor in 1773, and his later researches. This paper has also been printed by Mr. Rutt in his Memoirs prefixed to the Doctor's Works, Vol. I. Part i. pp. 195—197."

To the preceding account, for which I am indebted to the Rev. William Henry Black, Assistant Commissioner of Public Records, I may add that Mr. Belsham has used these letters in his *Memoirs of the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey*, pp. 376—451, 525—530.

67. I have in my own possession a small volume written by the Rev. Benjamin Mardon, M.A., now of Sidmouth, containing copies of Dr. Priestley's letters to the Rev. Joseph Bretland, from March 7, 1773, to June 10, 1793. This is the MS. used by Rutt, and referred to by him, *Memoirs*, I. 191, *Notes*. See Mr. Mardon's letter in *Monthly Repository*, Vol. XVI. p. 103.

I have also, through Mr. Mardon's kindness, an original letter from Priestley to Lindsey, "Northumberland, Jan. 15, 1802."

68. The Rev. Hugh Hutton, M.A., of Camden Town, London, has Priestley's autograph letters to his Birmingham flock, as a part of the numerous illustrations of Rutt's Memoirs of Priestley, which he has collected with great labour and at great expense.

69. Priestley's thirty-eight letters to Josiah Wedgwood, and to his son Thomas, commencing May 26th, 1781, ending March 17th, 1792, and described by Dr. George Wilson, of Edinburgh, in his *Life of Cavendish*, pp. 90—104, are in the possession of Miss Finch, of Birmingham.

70. His twelve letters to Keir are described in the same volume, p. 104. Keir's daughter became Mrs. Moilliet; and the letters, if they still exist, are probably in the possession of her family.

71. The correspondence of James Watt, edited by Muirhead, includes articles by Priestley.—*Dr. G. Wilson, Life of Cavendish*, p. 273.

72. Dr. William Overend Priestley, of London, a descendant of Dr. Priestley's youngest brother, has three very interesting letters from Dr. Priestley to Mrs. Crouch.

73. Among the letters discovered at Eden Lodge, Kensington Gore, are some by Priestley, Lord Shelburne, Gibbon, John

Lee, and many other distinguished persons. — *Athenæum* for March, 1860, pp. 343, 376.

74. In consequence of the failure of the Messrs. Wilkinson, into whose family Dr. Priestley married, more than sixty of his letters, and those of his son Joseph, to his brother-in-law, John Wilkinson, came into the possession of J. F. Marsh, Esq., an eminent solicitor at Warrington, who with the consent of the family deposited them in the Warrington Library. They are carefully bound together in a folio volume. They extend from March 26, 1789, to July 31, 1802. An account of them, with extracts, was published by Mr. Marsh in the *Memoirs of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,* Vol. VII., *Liverpool,* 1855. A still fuller account, including the greater part of the correspondence and many illustrative circumstances, had been already published in the *Christian Reformer* for 1851.

The series includes a letter from Mr. Galton to Dr. Priestley, and one from Mrs. Priestley to Benjamin Vaughan, M.P.

75. A great number of letters, chiefly on private affairs, remains in the custody of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Parkes. Among other accompanying records is a sermon preached at Calne and other places, a fair specimen of the Doctor's pastoral addresses. The sermon referred to is marked on the outside, "Leeds, Easter Sunday, 1772; Calne, Easter Sunday, 1777; New Meeting, Birmingham, April, 1784." The text is Luke xxiv. 34, "The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon." The sermon concludes with the following ascription of praise and summary of the preacher's belief: "Now unto God, even our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness and the first-begotten from the dead, and the Prince of the kings of the earth, to him who loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God his Father, be glory and dominion now and for ever. Amen."

### Coat of Arms.

76. Dr. Priestley's coat of arms is represented on his book-plate and on the seal to his letters. I have caused the wood-cut which will be used as a tail-piece to this catalogue, to be executed from the book-plate in a volume which was once in his library. His motto, translated from the Aphorisms of Hippocrates, has often been noticed as very suitable to Priestley's character: Ars longa, Vita brevis.

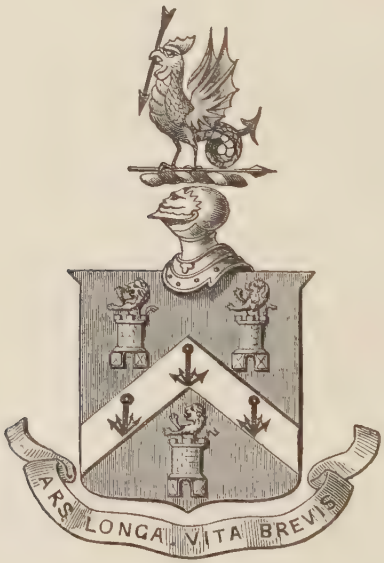
### Priestley's Final Abode at Northumberland.

As Dr. Priestley bestowed great pains on the plan, and often refers to it in his letters from America, it is gratifying to know that Mrs. Parkes has the copy made by the architect, and can shew the spot in his library where her grandfather died. On

the same sheet the architect has drawn the elevation both of the principal and of the garden front.

Joseph, the grandson of Dr. Priestley, now living at Northumberland, says in a letter to his sister, Mrs. Parkes, "The house in which Dr. Priestley lived and died at Northumberland is still in a remarkable state of preservation, and must have been very carefully built of the best materials. It is the most comfortable house in the place, and is visited by a number of strangers, who come to see it as the former residence of Dr. Priestley."

When Miss Harriet Martineau went to the United States, "the first point fixed in her intentions was the retreat of Priestley." She fulfilled this design, and her chapter on his character, suggested by her visit to his last settlement and his grave, is among the most beautiful, eloquent and instructive passages in her works.*




Arms of Priestley.

* Retrospect of Western Travel, Vol. I. pp. 175—198.

## PHYSICAL PECULIARITIES OF THE ANCIENT HEBREWS.

Sir,

The Jewish people are objects of much curiosity to ethnological inquirers, as well as to divines. To both they offer numerous problems for investigation. Their undoubted antiquity, their very considerable separation from all other people, their dispersion amongst all nations, and the peculiar rites they everywhere carry with them, invest this race with singular interest. The Jews have perhaps stood first in determining the scientific problem, which has had so much prominence given to it of late years by the writings of Blumenbach, Lawrence, Pritchard and others, viz., the assumed variations of race from secondary influences, such as climate, mode of life, &c. In the discussions relating to this hypothesis, very discrepant assertions have been made respecting them. And now, when the hypothesis itself is in a large measure relinquished by ethnologists, the physical characters of this people are not less matters of laudable research. With regard to their moral characteristics, it seems to be generally admitted that these are quite special; having small resemblance to those of the European races, and evincing imperfect or rare evidences of the intellectual power these latter so pre-eminently display. In other words, that the Jews are intellectually and morally distinct from other people, and much inferior to some.

In describing the typical physical peculiarities of the Jews, as seen in this country and in Europe generally, ethnologists are much agreed. They attribute to them black hair, dark eyes of an almond shape, a peculiar arched nose, full lips and generally heavy features, a somewhat receding forehead, and pallid complexion, with an expression of mildness combined with cunning. And such, no doubt, are usually seen among the chosen people who reside in England. But are we justified in regarding these lineaments as essential to the Jewish race? Such has been assumed, perhaps too hastily. Dr. Pritchard asserted, we believe with somewhat too great facility, that "among the Jews of northern Europe the Xanthous variety becomes general." Colonel Hamilton Smith, in his very fanciful manner, tells us, that "all the tribes descended from Abraham and Lot were of high-land descent, clearly in part of a fair rufous stem, grey-eyed and auburn hair. Evidence of this fact is repeatedly named in history and in tradition;" and adduces the women in particular in Morocco "to this day generally grey-eyed."* In a neighbouring country, Algiers, we have a clear description of the Jews which agrees but little with the Colonel's assertion. "Sous le ciel d'Afrique, de même qu'en Europe, les Juifs ont leur type

* Nat. Hist. of Human Species, p. 391.

spécial: nez aquilin, barbe noire, œil magnifique quoique toujours faux, teint blanc et lisse. Il est facile de les reconnaître à cet air de fourberie et d'humilité, à cette inclinaison du corps pendré en avant, à ces traits sévères, et a ces demi-cercles qui encadrent leurs noires prunelles et qui sont un des signes particuliers de leur race."*

The most distinct and the best account of a very diverse type of the Jewish race is by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in the abridged edition of his work on the Egyptians.† He says, "Here I may mention a remarkable circumstance, that the Jews of the East to this day often have red hair and blue eyes, with a nose of delicate form and nearly straight, and are quite unlike their brethren of Europe; and the children in modern Jerusalem have the pink and white complexions of Europeans. The oriental Jews are at the same time unlike the other Syrians in features; and it is the Syrians who have the large nose which strikes us as a peculiarity of the western Israelites. This prominent feature was always a characteristic of the Syrians, but not of the ancient nor of the modern Jews of Judea: the Saviour's head, though not really a portrait, is evidently a traditional representation of the Jewish face which is still traceable at Jerusalem. No real portrait of him was ever handed down; and Eusebius of Cæsarea pronounced the impossibility of obtaining one for the sister of Constantine; but the character of the Jewish face would necessarily be known in those early days (in the fourth century), when the first representations of him were attempted; and we should be surprised to find any artist abandon the style of features thus agreed upon for ages, and represent the Saviour with those of our western Jews. Yet this would be perfectly correct if the Jews of his day had those features; and such would have been, in that case, his traditional portrait."—This I have quoted as a sufficient introduction to the object I have in view. To go into the various ethnological questions connected with this peculiar race, many of them of a controverted character, is no part of this object.

Seeing the grounds on which are based such remarkably different views of the physical characters of the Jews, assuming that the distinctive characteristics of diverse races are uniform, an important question arises, viz., what light can be thrown upon the original constitution of the Israelitish family by the consultation of their sacred books and the ancient commentaries upon these books? This question can only be satisfactorily solved by those who have an acquaintance with the Hebrew language and literature. After having in vain sought information on it from Jewish sources, I beg permission to bring it under the notice of

* Algérie historique, pittoresque et monumentale. Par M. Berbrugger. 1843. Des races Algériennes.

† Vol. II. p. 197, &c.

your learned correspondents, in the hope that I may be able to interest them sufficiently in this curious inquiry to induce them to trace out and enumerate the different passages which bear on the physical peculiarities of the ancient Hebrews, and thus to afford the scientific world the benefit of their critical knowledge. If I am successful in eliciting the information the Hebrew scholar is able to impart, I am persuaded, whether it prove adequate to determine the physical characters of the ancient Israelites or not, that it will be of considerable value. More than this I trust it is not necessary to say to induce the contribution I am desirous to see. I hope that you will not regard an inquiry of this kind to be unsuited to your pages, and that you will open them to those correspondents who may please to contribute towards its solution.

Finally, I may observe, that the question has indeed a bearing upon biblical science in one way, if not in others. A confirmation of the history of the ancient Hebrews, as given in their sacred books, has been sought in the pictorial representations of the Egyptian tombs. In the celebrated scene of the Brickmakers in the Theban Sepulchre, so finely represented in Rosellini's M. C. Tav. xlix., and described Tom. II. p. 254, the figures considered to be those of Israelites are distinguished by their *colour, physiognomy and beards,* from the Egyptian taskmaster seated hard by and armed with his stick; i. e. they may be Israelites, if the notions commonly entertained of these features in the Hebrew race be true—not without.

*Shelton, Dec.* 10, 1860. J. Barnard Davis.

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## NATURE AND GOD.

Sir,

In the National Review for October, p. 508, occurs this passage:

"While on this Secondary field His mind and ours are thus contrasted, they meet in resemblance again upon the Primary; for the evolutions of deductive Reason there is but one track possible to all intelligences; no *merum arbitrium* can interchange the false and true, or make more than one Geometry, one scheme of pure Physics for all worlds: and the Omnipotent Architect Himself, in realizing the Kosmical conception, in shaping the orbits out of immensity and determining seasons out of eternity, could but follow the laws of curvature, measure and proportion. And so, in the region of the demonstrative sciences, to us the highest that mere intellect attains, where most we feel our thought triumphant and seem to look down on dominated nature,—*there* is His Mind the least unconditioned, and there alone comes into experience of necessity."

In venturing to make a comment upon the doctrine (may I without sore offence say *dogma?*) contained in what I have quoted, I feel, more deeply than my words can express, affectionate and unqualified respect

towards the writer of the article in which those sentences occur. But just in proportion to my respect is my regret that one so able and noble should commit what seems to me so grievous an error of exposition.

That purest of works on pure Physics, Newton's *Principia*, amongst other characteristics of its excellence, stands not least approved by its very title. The great "little child picking up pebbles on the sea-shore," as he laid down his geometrics and evolved his trigonometric marvels, doubtless thought these, *his* "mathematics," to be but the exponents of Physical Power or Powers, as the same may be said to appear to *man's* present comprehension of mind. He surely did not (how could he, so able yet so humble?) mean that his theory of the universe, or that any purely terrestrial mathematics, must needs be the one and only *geometry* of God! We cultured mortals of earth are, alas! too apt to deem that which is the best that comes to our bidding to be best in the behests of God. Even in the *demonstrative* sciences, we should not forget, the most determinate and decisive of demonstrations can be but *so far* determinate and decisive as man's terrestrial penetrations reach. The whole hermeneutics of Heaven, whether upon physical, metaphysical or hyperphysical subjects and objects, cannot be within the compass of earth-born men, even though nine hundred-and-ninety-nine-fold Newtons each. Great God's heaven and little man's heaven must ever be very different facts, physically, theologically, morally. Most reverently towards the Omnipotent Architect Himself, and with all due deference to the singularly gifted reviewer, I would heartily subscribe to the sentence, that "no *merum arbitrium* can interchange the false and true;" while I as heedfully demur to the consecutive assertion, that God's *arbitrium* cannot "make more than one Geometry, one scheme of pure Physics for all worlds." I am one of those, perhaps rash and rude, thinkers whom neither Geometry nor Physics, nor Theology nor Metaphysics, have been able to dispossess of the conviction that God ever, of His own supreme will and mere motion, constituted and continues the *principia* (call them Laws or what you may) of measurement, movement, development, accomplishment, &c. Nor can I, without degrading my conception of my God very sadly indeed, so think of Him as to say that He "could but *follow* the laws of curvature, measure and proportion." Admitting, what will obviously be urged, that this allegation does not necessarily imply priority of existence, and that the Laws in question may be co-eternal with Himself, still I dare freely protest against the opinion that *any* "Laws" extraneous to Himself (and who says God has "curvature, measure and proportion"?) can possibly place Him under the necessity of being, in any sort or sense, otherwise than 'unconditioned." Else, how is He God, *the* God ever *supreme?*

Let me now revert to what appears to me a gratuitous assumption, very alien in spirit from the laws of "the *demonstrative* sciences." I ask, with utterly unfeigned submission to a person so deservedly commanding respect as the reviewer, how does he, or how do we, know that ours (of the planet Earth) is the only Geometry, the only scheme of pure Physics that is true? Even as it regards us free denizens of earth, let me humbly hint that at best ours is but an *approximation* towards the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Vast as are the views of Newton, and valuable as are his and other volumes on such topics, wisdom enhances our welcome to such boons when we

recollect that they are but the PRINCIPIA (may I say the *Primitiæ?*) of the future fruits which from the same roots, deep in the past grounds of knowledge and belief, may crown the blossoms of higher philosophic light. But may it please the reviewer to overlook the offence, if felt as such, unintentional though it be. I must add, that the *petitio principii* apparent in the passage quoted, grows larger, when it is found to assume that the inhabitants of all planetary spheres, of all starry orbs, of "all worlds,"—nay more, that the Omnipotent Architect Himself and all His hosts, do and must propound, solve or accept, problems in pure Physics by the very same processes of Geometry as we on this earth. Why, our highest of high Mathematics, pure or mixed, what are they but the capital A, B, C, wherewith we essay to lisp our limited interpretation of so much of God's boundless KOSMOS (and how little is this much!) as He condescends to put within the reach of our faculties? Even supposing that the intelligent people of other planets have breath and brains as we have (and this is sheer hypothesis), how do we know that light impinging on their physical and mental vision must produce analogous phenomena to those which we designate Spherical Trigonometry, Parallax, &c.? How do we dare say that star-gazers and seers of other *habitats* are scanning God's works by Mathematics, because we on earth do so?—or if they do, that *their* "Mathematics" must demonstratively be identical with ours? The astronomical hermeneutics of the Mercurial folk, and the chronometric solutions of Saturnine students, may not be making Q, E, D, such as ours. And the ALMIGHTY ARCHITECT! Any most exalted idea of reverence for mathematic lore should shrink into zero at the bare hint that man's mere alphabet of Kosmical divination can be GOD'S expression of infinite series.

Having studied the article through, I yield ready admiration and adhesion to many of the devout and discreet modifications of the startling averment which makes one's reverence quiver. It is not that I heavily depreciate an argument of unquestionable value both for talent and for temper; but I do most heartily deprecate any asseveration or insinuation that Almighty God *must;* that He is or can be placed *under conditions;* that aught of which our finite intelligence can tell or think or dream under the pretentious expressions, LAW and the like, can be fitly applied to HIM. I say "pretentious" as it regards, not that "Nature" which we cannot but expound by the aid of "Laws" which we deem *hers;* but excessively pretentious—aye, and more than pretentious—as it regards Him of whom I can best express myself in the language of Scripture "touching the Almighty."

But, leaving Biblical references to you and others who know them really by *heart*, I recal attention to certain scientific axioms, postulates, propositions or (shall I say?) stand-points, which are mooted in the passage quoted from the National Review. And concerning them, I ask both deferentially and reverentially, is not there too much of the almost vulgar ambition which would fain set up *oneself*, i. e. MAN, as the centre round which all Heaven's orbs for ever roll,—as the mathematizing Arbiter by whose ideas of curve, cause, &c., the modes and laws of the physical world must be moving—and by none other in any sphere? Or, taking it for granted that the physical principle of Kosmical development is *elliptomorphic*, may we not suggest that the reviewer argues too much as if GOD were one of the *foci* and MAN the

other, and as if there neither were nor could be any other "laws" of curvature, mensuration, proportion, boundary, extension and so forth, than such as coincide or conform with our earth-born, man-made elements of Kosmical truth,—*our* PRINCIPIA of celestial and terrestrial dynamics? I put these free questions with some fear, but not without some faith in both Divine and human wisdom.

*October* 29, 1860. N. K. N.

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## CRITICAL NOTICES.

*The Encyclopædia Britannica.* Vol. XX. Eighth Edition. Edinburgh—Adam and Charles Black.

THIS new edition of the best Encyclopædia in the English language is hastening towards its conclusion. Few of the volumes do not contain much that we could profitably dilate upon, and we have felt regret that so many successive parts have been allowed to pass unnoticed by us. The current volume contains several new and valuable contributions to Cyclopædic literature. We observe with satisfaction that the short life of Servetus is free from the serious blemishes which in an earlier volume characterized the life of Calvin. Not in vain did our friend, the Rev. John Gordon, then the resident Unitarian minister of the city where this Encyclopædia is published, expose the gross inaccuracy and spirit of party which were so manifest in the articles "Calvin" and "Channing." We suppose we may regard the life of Servetus now given as a virtual retractation of the article which provoked Mr. Gordon's criticism. There are literary inelegances and there are slight inaccuracies in this sketch of the life of the great Spanish heretic; but against the spirit of the article we have no exception to take. An extract or two will illustrate what we have said.

"After the exchange of some preliminary courtesies, Servetus asked Calvin's judgment of a portion of his future volume, *Christianismi Restitutio.* The Reformer combated very sharply this portion of his lucubrations, and Servetus replied with all the cool bitterness of a thorough-paced controversialist. This was what Calvin was not prepared for, and possibly his temper had become more than ruffled by the rude manner of the Spanish doctor. In Calvin's letter to Farel of February 13, 1546, he thus writes of Servetus: 'He offers to come hither if I please. But I do not wish to pledge my word for his safety; for if he come, I shall not suffer him to depart alive, if my influence be of any avail.' (Calvin's Letters, Vol. II. 1857.) This is very definite. * * The work (the publication of the Christianismi Restitutio) was gone about with due caution, and on its publication in 1553, it was forwarded to Fullon, publisher in Lyons, who had formerly employed Servetus, and through whom the Spaniard had corresponded with Calvin. It was through this man, it is reported, that Calvin came by his copy of the work of Servetus; others say it reached him through the ordinary channels of the trade. At all events, De Trie, then residing at Geneva, and a friend of the Reformer, sent to a Lyonese the first sheet of this work and pronounced Servetus the author. More letters came to Lyons, in which were some of those sent to Calvin by Servetus himself. The upshot was, that the engines of the Inquisition were set in motion, and had not the Spaniard escaped from the prison in which he was confined in Vienne, he would, without doubt, have suffered the extreme penalty of the

law. The ordinary tribunal of the Bailiwick of Vienne sat in judgment on the outlaw and condemned him to the flames on the 17th of June, 1553. So far as it is possible to ascertain anything with regard to the opinions promulgated in the *Christianismi Restitutio*, they seem to have been decidedly Antitrinitarian. The author sought to bring men back to the simple faith of primitive Christianity, which, in his opinion, both the Reformed and Roman Catholic churches had forsaken. What galled Calvin perhaps nearly as much as the doctrines the book contained, was the spirit in which he, the Reformer of Geneva, was spoken of in that publication. It is difficult on any other assumption to account for his singular animosity against Servetus. All the accustomed respect paid to Calvin was here treated with derision, and he was plied at once with the most ingenious arguments and handled with the most scurrilous abuse."

After the account of Servetus's appearance at Geneva and his arrest, the article thus proceeds:

"Calvin instructed his servant, Nicholas de la Fontaine, to have him imprisoned and to stand security according to the *lex talionis*, then a judicial usage in Geneva. Calvin writes in his letter to Farel of August 20th, 1553, 'Nicholas was released from prison on the third day, having given up my brother as his surety; on the fourth day he was set free.' (Calvin's Letters, Vol. II. p. 399.) The forty charges brought against Servetus had been found proven by the Senate. Calvin says in the same letter, 'I hope that sentence of death will at least be passed upon him; but I desire that the severity of the punishment may be mitigated.' The Senate of Geneva, despite the remonstrances of Calvin to the contrary, resolved to lay the case before the Swiss churches of Berne, Zurich, Schaffhausen and Basle. Calvin now busied himself in writing to the leading brethren of the several churches regarding the criminality of Servetus. He urged upon them with more than ordinary warmth, the necessity of giving a judgment which should at once rid the churches and the world of this man and his 'detestable mockeries.' The churches were unanimous in their verdict of the theological culpability of Servetus, and mildly exhorted their Genevan brethren to rid the church of this noisome pest. (See Calvin's Letters, Vol. II. p. 417.) After such replies, the decision could not be long doubtful. Yet the sentence which was pending has been denominated by Lord Brougham, the greatest lawyer of the present generation, as a 'mockery of a trial.' On the 27th of October, 1553, Servetus was led forth to hear his doom pronounced. He had escaped the terrors of the Inquisition at Vienne, only to meet death at Geneva. From the site where the fatal pile was erected beyond the walls of the city, he bequeathed with his breath a mournful souvenir to the Reformation, and an eternal subject of accusation to the enemies of Calvin."

After giving Calvin the benefit of the plea that religious liberty was in his days understood by none, the writer concludes with an expression of "a just pity for a great victim," and of "that righteous indignation which every one must feel at such an enormous departure from the principles of enlightened justice."

The appearance of this unmistakeably hostile verdict against Calvin in this matter in the Encyclopædia may, we think, be regarded as the effect, in the first place, of the free discussion respecting Calvin and Servetus which we have recently witnessed; and, secondly, of the publication of Calvin's Letters, which fastens upon the character of the Reformer the charge against which his eulogists have vainly striven to defend him.

Another valuable biographical article in this volume, from the pen of the late Mr. De Quincey, has for its subject our great dramatic bard. On the vexed question of his religion, the writer says,

"The question whether Shakspeare was a Roman Catholic has been raised. We hold that no Roman Catholic could have written parts of King John, Henry VIII., and other dramas of Shakspeare. The old faith, however, probably held sway in the sequestered hamlet of Snitterfield. In 1844, a document was discovered in the State Paper Office, by which it appears that the poet's father, in 1592, was returned as one of the recusants who 'had been heretofore presented for not coming monthly to the church, according to his Majesty's laws.' The officer who makes the return reports, that John Shakspeare and eight other men in Stratford (two of them bearing the well-known names of Fluellen and Bardolph) abstained from coming to church for 'fear of process of debt.' This plea is scarcely available, as John Shakspeare is found at the same time going about on ordinary business, and four years afterwards he applied at the Herald's Office for a coat of arms, at the instigation, no doubt, of his son, the poet. Whether a process of debt could then be served on Sunday is not mentioned; but we would rather attribute John Shakspeare's continued absence from church to some lingering attachment to the Papal faith, which must have been the religion of his youth. As alderman of Stratford, however, he would in busy days have taken the oath then required from all functionaries. The poet's family were undoubtedly Protestants. They ultimately manifested a Puritanical devotion or seriousness; and Mr. Halliwell found in the town-chamberlain's accounts for 1614, this item: 'For one quart of sack and one quart of claret wine, given to a preacher at New Place, xxd.' This was two years before Shakspeare's death. The poet had accommodated the preacher with lodgings, and the corporation as a peculiar mark of respect added to his 'creature comforts.' Perhaps the Puritanical tendencies of Shakspeare's widow and daughters may partly account for the total loss of his papers. Not a scrap has survived, not a fragment of a scene, not one familiar letter."

There is one article in this volume which brings forcibly into view the changes so rapidly going on under the invisible but irresistible influence of opinion. In treating of the "Sicilies," the writer pronounced the government to be "de facto the most thoroughly despotic and arbitrary government in Europe." Thanks to the ambition of Louis Napoleon and the pure and courageous love of liberty of Garibaldi, Naples and Sicily have now taken their place among the constitutional monarchies of Europe. Thus time and change are constantly throwing men's theories, and even their facts, into the waste-basket by the side of old almanacs.

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*Psalms, Hymns and Anthems.* Compiled and edited by Ellen Courtauld. Pp. 464. London—Whitfield. 1860.

This beautifully printed volume contains in its 474 selected poems as many beautiful hymns as any volume of the kind with which we are acquainted. It was compiled in the first instance for the High-Garrett congregation, and this new edition is prepared in order that the Halstead congregation may have the benefit of it. The aim of the editress has been to "make it devotional in spirit and catholic in sentiment." In using it in the public service, care must be taken in the selection, as the poems admitted are not designed exclusively for public worship, but some are adapted only for private reading. We should have preferred having two separate volumes,—one for the church, the other for home,—and would have confined to the latter the songs of liberty and progress which form a part of this selection. We observe that some beautiful gems have been dug up from the works of the old poets. As a whole, it is a very interesting volume of devotional poetry.

# INTELLIGENCE.

CHESTER CONGREGATIONAL TEA-MEETING.

The congregational gathering which took place on Tuesday, December 11th, was the first of the kind which has been held for a considerable period. The attendance was numerous. The school-rooms, which had been tastefully decorated for the occasion, were well filled. The tea-tables and window recesses were ornamented with ferns and flowering plants. After tea, the company adjourned to the chapel for half-an-hour's enjoyment of sacred music, effectively sung by the choir, assisted by a few volunteers. On re-assembling in the school-room, a short time was agreeably spent in conversation and in examining a variety of interesting objects, stereoscopic views, prints, illustrated books, &c., which were sources of great attraction during the evening. A few glees increased the pleasure of meeting, which was intended to be as little formal as possible. Addresses also were delivered at intervals by the Rev. C. Wicksteed, B.A., Rev. William Binns, of Birkenhead, Rev. J. K. Montgomery, minister of the chapel (in the chair), and several members of the congregation.

The CHAIRMAN congratulated them on the success of their first social gathering in recent years. Some familiar faces, indeed, were sadly missed, and some friends were absent who had been expected. Yet it was very pleasing to find all sections and elements of the congregation so fully represented—older members, who for forty years had sustained the interests of their venerable place of worship and borne the brunt of the battle for Christian liberty and truth, and more recent friends, who filled up the gaps which time and circumstances were ever making in their ranks; rich and poor; Sunday scholars and their parents; and some old scholars, whom it was pleasant to find frequent attendants at the chapel services on Sunday evenings; as well as a few youths whose only tie was attendance at week-evening classes, but out of which he hoped would grow others still stronger and more strictly religious. The aspect of that meeting indicated no want of necessary elements of strength and prosperity, notwithstanding many serious losses recently sustained or still painfully looked forward to. There was only wanted unity and energy to secure success. A church was not simply an assembly of individual worshipers, whatever the sincerity and spirituality of their service of their spiritual Father. It implied work as well as worship, and mutual sympathy and helpfulness. In the household of faith, the bond and blessing were found in Christian sympathy, union and faithful co-operation. The church had work for all to do. Each might find a sphere for their gifts in some or other of the many institutions that should gather around every Christian congregation: — the Sunday-school, or week-evening classes for educational purposes or for mutual improvement, visiting the poor and sick, tract distribution, clothing or sewing societies, or meetings for reading to young and old, or kindred objects. In some or other of these ways, each might find some useful sphere of occupation and of influence. He had not indeed been anxious as yet to start many new plans. He had wished to feel his way and know his resources. Something, however, had been done. The Sunday-school had somewhat improved. Some new teachers had joined it, and there only wanted a few others to raise it to a very efficient state. A children's library had been formed, under superintendence of a zealous teacher. Week-evening classes had been resumed, but had not yet had fair trial. More adequate funds also had been provided during the year for the school. A poor's-purse placed in his hands had been found very useful. It was earnestly desired to establish a "Working Woman's Mission," on the plan, somewhat modified, so well known to readers of the "Missing Link." The means had been generously placed at his disposal—the difficulty was to find the fitting "Marian" to carry it out. He still hoped to do so. He was unwilling to abandon the plan, regarding it as one of the best agencies yet devised for the elevation of the working classes and those still lower in the social scale; and thinking it an agency around which so many other sources of Christian influences might be gathered, he was very reluctant to divert into other channels means so generously offered for this or any kindred purpose connected with the chapel. Having dwelt upon some other matters of congregational interest, after a brief interval, during which a glee was sung, the Chairman called upon the Rev. William Binns to address the meeting.

Mr. BINNS spoke to the sentiment, "The demand of the age for a more liberal and enlightened faith, and its signs of encouragement urging to greater religious life in our churches, and more faithful efforts for the diffusion of Christian truth, piety and charity." A more liberal and enlightened

faith, he thought, had been the demand of every age. In none were men satisfied with prevailing forms of faith. They ever aspired after something better. Buddhism itself was a demand for closer communion with Deity than was provided for by Brahminism. Judaism gave evidence of the thirst after better faith than the heathen world supplied; and Christianity was the answer to the demand for something still more spiritual than the Mosaic Law. Even Mahometanism was an advance upon the corrupt religion of Eastern churches; and Protestantism was the age's demand for more liberal and enlightened faith than Romanism. None of the earlier religions could ever become universal. Those of the East could never bear transplanting to northern climes. Brahminism had never crossed the Himalaya. Judaism had not the element of universality. It could never take root in latitudes where animals required for its sacrifices were not found. Mahometanism could not extend beyond limits of convenient pilgrimage to Mecca. Christianity alone contained elements of universality, because of its spirituality and progressive nature. And in each age there was evidence of demand for an advancing faith. What was the existence of so many parties in the Christian church but desire of each to get nearer to truth in some or other respect? And the greater progress of this age in science and every department of knowledge, made its demand for more enlightened faith only the stronger. What were its signs of encouragement, urging to greater religious life in our churches, and more faithful efforts for the diffusion of Christian truth, piety and charity? They found them in the growing liberalism of the English Church and the Independent denomination. The orthodox theology still existed in name, but its spirit was powerful no longer. Wherever men had begun to think, it was dead or dying. Unitarianism, though not called so, was now preached in pulpits and published in Essays and Reviews by men nominally pledged to support Established creeds. While they regretted their failure in honesty, they could not but rejoice in the triumph of long-persecuted truth. But their own churches were also on the increase, and a healthy missionary zeal widely prevailed. They also must be faithful to their name. It might be one of obloquy. So was the Christian name itself at the beginning. It fairly represented their position, and they must ennoble it by their lives. With earnest work on the part of ministers, lay preachers, wealthy laymen and the women of our congregations, great possibilities were open to us. Freely, yet reverently, they read the Bible. They had no stereotyped creeds; but holding to the past, they had faith in the future. The age asked for us, and let us, trusting in God, place ourselves heartily at its service.

Refreshments having been served and another glee sung, the next sentiment was given from the chair, viz. "That whilst deeply regretting losses sustained by the congregation in the recent or approaching removal from Chester of some of its attached friends, we yet recognize the necessity for increased union and energy on the part of its members to promote its interest and welfare." The CHAIRMAN said that the circumstances of Chester were peculiar. The want of manufactures and commercial interests to give employment to its working classes or afford scope for the energies and enterprize of its middle classes, compelled young men especially to seek elsewhere their means of living, or fitting spheres for their enterprize or their ambition; so that the community was continually drained of its sources of strength and progress. There was some compensation, indeed, for this inevitable state of things. Their more genial climate and other advantages of locality attracted many to their ancient city who sought a healthy and retired place of residence, and even some whose business pursuits lay in neighbouring towns easily accessible by railway. Whilst, then, their congregation, in common with their city, had suffered from the one cause, it had also gained from the other. The closing year, his first amongst them, had been an especially trying one. Their losses had been considerable—some of them from causes which need not be referred to. Death, too, had been amongst them; its shafts had struck down old and young, taking from them some of their most valued members. One especially would occur to all:—their oldest member and Trustee, still mourned by many and regretted by all—respected for his uprightness and consistent attachment to the traditions of their ancient chapel and the religious principles of their Unitarian faith. Losses thus occasioned they would submissively bear. God's will be done! But they had suffered also from other causes. Some very useful members had recently removed to other localities, and others were about to leave the city. They desired that evening to give expression to their deep regret at the removal from amongst them of their tried and valued friend, Edward Johnson, Esq., their efficient Treasurer, and now senior Trustee and the oldest member of the congregation. He could not venture to speak of that event as strongly as he felt. He knew how painfully their friend felt upon

the subject, and that it would be more agreeable to him that as little as possible should be said. The loss to their society would be great and would long be felt by them. He urged, however, that their losses, serious as they were, instead of unduly depressing them, should rather bind them more closely to one another and stimulate all to increased exertion to promote the interests and prosperity of their congregation. Then need not fears unduly mingle with their regrets on that occasion. He expressed his sense of kindness received from all sections of the congregation. In this respect there was nothing to be asked for. But he did ask for greater zeal and co-operation on their part, and earnestly appealed to them, by their attachment to their venerable place of worship, by their love of truth, of Christ and God, and for the sake of their own highest interests, to be united, to cherish greater sympathy, and to throw increased earnestness and energy into their congregational life. There was great room for improvement in many directions, e. g. in respect of attendance on public worship. His morning and evening congregation were quite different and saw little or nothing of each other. The working people attended mostly in the evening; many others only in the morning. With some it was unavoidable. More could not be expected of those living at considerable distances, and they generally shewed praiseworthy example of regularity at morning service in almost all weathers. With others it was more matter of habit than necessity, and had injurious influence in many ways. Absence of so many from the second service had very chilling effect, and was discouraging to those who only came in the evening, whether regular or occasional attendants. It was well to be as little dependent on such influences as possible, but none could be wholly independent of them. The presence of numbers was the source of warmth and inspiration—all knew and felt it. Still neither party could complain with grace of the other so long as one only attended in the evening and the other only in the morning; the account as between them was pretty evenly balanced, though not on very satisfactory principles, for each inflicted injury upon the other, and the minister suffered at the hands of both. Still allowances were to be made for both.

John Allen, Esq., then commended the adoption of the sentiment to the meeting, briefly expressing his feelings as to the great loss they were sustaining in the removal of their valued friend, concluding with a few encouraging remarks respecting the congregation.

Edward Humble, Esq., followed, saying a few words in the same spirit.

Rev. C. Wicksteed, who on rising was warmly welcomed, spoke on the same sentiment. He said he was not perhaps quite so well known to many present as their Chairman's remarks might indicate. He saw many new faces that evening, whilst he missed many once familiar in that place. He had known Chester from his early childhood, and had preached his first sermon in England in the Chester chapel. He had known many of their ministers. He could remember old Mr. Lyons (resigned in 1813) and had heard him preach, and had been acquainted more or less intimately with all his successors. He made friendly mention of all in the order of their succession, and of one or two of them related anecdotes, giving them a present application, which imparted a lively interest to his reminiscences. And now his interest in the congregation was continued in their present minister, whom he had long known in Yorkshire, and he was sure he would not allow them to go to sleep. He entreated them to respond heartily to his earnest appeal for greater union, earnestness and co-operation. He truly sympathized with them under circumstances referred to in the sentiment before the meeting, especially as regards the removal of his friend Mr. Johnson. They had been playfellows as boys, and been friendly ever since. He had great regard for him as an upright, amiable man, and had always found him courteous and gentlemanly. He was sure all must regret the loss of so valuable and useful a member of their congregation. Although the Chairman had not publicly expressed it, he knew from private intercourse how deeply he felt the loss of Mr. Johnson. He concluded by earnestly encouraging them to faithfulness to their Christian truth and principles. Their numbers as a body might not be very rapidly increasing, but their principles and views were everywhere making progress. They found them not only amongst the people, but held by the ministers, of other churches. He had even heard of orthodox ministers urging their appeal to Unitarians for pecuniary aid to their religious schemes on the ground of having Unitarians in their own congregations. Principles and views which they had long advocated with apparently slight results, they found, as had been said that evening, adopted and published by leading clergymen of the Establishment and Professors of its Universities, and widely accepted. But however gratifying such result, yet was it deeply to be regretted that those who thus boldly advocated such

principles could yet quietly remain within the pale of a Church, and renew their subscription to its Articles, with whose teachings their publicly proclaimed opinions were so at variance. He feared greatly for English honesty; and he would rather have had a hundred years longer of hand-to-hand fight for their principles, than have their speedier extension on such terms. Their Unitarian church, if they had no other, had still a great work to do in preaching and upholding Christian honesty and truthfulness.

The sentiment was unanimously assented to by all standing up in solemn silence.

The CHAIRMAN, in conveying to Mr. Johnson the expression of their deep regret at his intended removal with his family from amongst them, took occasion to explain that his previous reserve, noticed by Mr. Wicksteed, had arisen out of delicacy to Mr. Johnson's feelings, and was in consequence even of his strongly expressed wishes. He could assure them that, personally, few circumstances connected with the congregation could cause him deeper regret than Mr. Johnson's removal. He had experienced great kindness from him; and in their intercourse, whether private or official, he had always found him friendly and courteous, ready to enter into his views, and anxious to promote the interests of the congregation. He begged to assure Mr. Johnson how much all of them sympathized with them in their great trial, and how deeply all regretted their leaving Chester. They carried with them to their future home the best wishes for their happiness and restored peace.

Mr. JOHNSON briefly and feelingly replied. He said he could not do justice to his feelings in acknowledging all their kindness. He could find no words to express how much he appreciated the kind feelings and good wishes which had accompanied their expression of regret at their removal. They would easily believe that it was a great trial to him to leave Chester and the congregation in which he had been brought up and had spent his life. His position of oldest Trustee and member of the congregation had been attained only through the painful loss of a very old and dear friend (the late Mr. Frost). But he would rather speak of the future than the past. The meeting that evening was a pleasing sign of renewed good feeling. And though himself leaving them, he strongly hoped that, by being united and co-operating with their minister, the congregation would be more prosperous than it had been. He spoke in warm and friendly terms of their minister, and his willingness to devote himself to promote the good of the congregation, adding that one of the great sources of regret in leaving the chapel was the loss of its religious services. He concluded with hearty words of thanks and friendly parting, which were deeply felt by all present.

A sentiment respecting "The Sunday-schools, as an important agency of religious education to the young, and of useful and interesting labour to members of the congregation," was enforced by the Chairman, and spoken to by Mr. Holley, a working man, who had zealously for some years devoted himself to the schools.

After passing the usual votes of thanks, —that to the ladies who had presided at the tea-tables being responded to by Robt. Frost, Esq., ex-Sheriff of the city, in a very genial and felicitous speech,—the Evening Hymn was sung, and the proceedings closed with a short prayer by the minister, all feeling that the meeting had not only been very successful, but a very happy and hopeful one.

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### OPENING OF ENGLISH UNITARIAN CHURCH, ABERDARE, GLAMORGANSHIRE.

Aberdare is one of the many rapidly growing and thriving towns of the coal and iron districts of South Wales. The parish contained at the time of the last census about 15,000 inhabitants, and will probably be found by the impending census to have reached 25,000. The services, in Welsh, in the old Unitarian chapel, under the ministry of the Rev. John Jones, are constantly attended by a crowded congregation; and the growth of an English population there (as in other parts of South Wales), together with the gradual disuse of the Welsh language among the younger branches of many native families, had for some time past suggested the importance of erecting a second place of Unitarian worship. About fifteen months ago the matter was taken earnestly in hand. Mr. Griffith Thomas, one of the congregation, gave a piece of land charmingly situated on rising ground on the outskirts of the town, and large enough to allow of the future erection of a school-room and minister's house adjoining the chapel. We say *gave;* as a lease for a thousand years at half-a-crown for a quarter of an acre of ground is very like a free gift. The same liberal-hearted proprietor, we may here observe, has furnished sites for several other places of worship on the same estate on most generous terms. The subscription list presently warranted the building of the chapel, which has just been opened, and which for its simple beauty and convenience claims some words of description. It is built of the

dark grey stone of the district, which is remarkably suitable for religious edifices. It is Gothic, of the variety known as Medieval; under one roof, without pillars; with half the slope of the roof open to the rafters. There are three windows on each side, the pair furthest from the entrance being larger than the others, and indicating, in connection with other architectural marks, a wise provision for the future enlargement of the church by the addition of transepts, if ever, or whenever, such a step shall be required. The pulpit is placed upon a railed communion platform within a high arched recess in the back wall; and at the opposite end, over the entrance, is a gallery, approached by a staircase on the outside. The seats are low-backed and without pew doors, and of a very comfortable width. An aisle runs up each side wall, with a bench along the wall. The chapel will comfortably seat 300 persons. The architect is Mr. H. J. Paul, of Cardiff, now, we believe, removed to Burnley, in Lancashire. We must not omit to mention that the chapel is most comfortably warmed (as the fine frosty day of opening sufficiently tested) by a *warm-air* heating apparatus, under the vestry at the back of the chapel, the patent (we understand) of a Mr. Haden. The ventilation is provided for by gratings, made to open and shut at pleasure, in each *window-sill*, admitting the fresh air *upwards*, and by a large opening in the roof over the gallery for the egress of the heated and used-up air. The summer, when it comes, will prove whether this is enough without also opening the windows,—a common domestic plan of ventilation to which Gothic architects seem to have some unexplained objections.

The opening of this new church took place on Thursday, Dec. 20th. The fine reaches of hill and vale on all sides had been covered the day before with a deep snow, which the intervening night froze hard, and on which the bright morning sun shone cheerily. Friends and neighbours assembled numerously for the occasion. Merthyr sent half its congregation to congratulate the event; and more remote friends from Neath, Rymney, Bridgend, Swansea, Carmarthen and Cardiganshire, and from Bristol, brought their good wishes in person.

The opening service was conducted by the Rev. Edward Higginson, of Swansea. Willis's beautiful hymn (Martineau's Collection, 575),

"This perfect world by Adam trod,"

was sung simply and well by choir and congregation, accompanied by a good harmonium. Selections from Solomon's dedicatory service at the opening of the temple (1 Kings viii.), the 96th Psalm, and the Saviour's conversation with the woman of Samaria (John iv.), were then read, and the dedicatory prayer followed. Bryant's hymn,

"O Thou whose own vast temple stands"

(Martineau, 576), was then sung; and the Rev. William James, of Bristol, entered the pulpit as the announced preacher on the occasion. His text was highly appropriate, and in its widest suggestions describes the scope of his sermon: "Neither will I offer burnt-offerings unto the Lord my God of that which doth cost me nothing" (2 Sam. xxiv. 24). It embraced the importance of pecuniary zeal prominently, but not exclusively, and forcibly shewed what Unitarianism does cost of mental and moral effort and of social sacrifice, and what its professors ought gladly to let it cost them, shewing yet more forcibly its worth and happiness to its possessors.

A well-provided cold collation at half-past one was attended by about 100 ladies and gentlemen. Mr. John Jones, of the Stamp-office, Aberdare—who has been chief in zeal and effort for the erection of the chapel—took the chair, and gave many of the details above implied respecting the progress of the work now in a manner consummated. Two additional facts we must not omit to chronicle as indicative of the Christian liberality of other denominations in Aberdare. The Chairman stated that their neighbours of all denominations had contributed to their subscription; and that, as their opening approached, they had received two offers from the Independents of the use of their larger chapels for the evening services. We could almost regret that one of these offers had not been accepted. It would have been a grand opportunity for the evening preachers to present Unitarianism in its sympathizing rather than its controversial aspects, yet without dissimulation or compromise, to a larger number of orthodox persons than would be likely to go to the new Unitarian church, or could gain admission if they tried. But our Aberdare friends, no doubt, were the best judges. The speaking after the collation was brief, animated and to the purpose.

In the evening the chapel was crowded to excess. The announcement of a Welsh sermon by a popular and very able minister brought together a number of working men, to whom the English service of the morning was partially unintelligible. The introductory service of reading, singing and prayer was in Welsh by the Rev. J. E. Jones, of Bridgend; followed by an English sermon by Dr. Lloyd from 1 Cor. viii. 6,

distinguished by the fervid and impassioned eloquence which characterizes all his efforts. The Welsh sermon by the Rev. Thomas Thomas, of Pantydefaid, was a calm, clear and scholarly examination of the meaning and application of the words of our Saviour in Matthew xvi. 18, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church," and was listened to throughout with profound attention. The Rev. Titus Lloyd closed the interesting services of the day with prayer. The collections in aid of the building fund after both services amounted to £30. 10*s.* 7*d.*

Our friends at Aberdare have need still of considerable help from beyond themselves and the nearer neighbourhood which alone they have hitherto canvassed. In round figures, we understand their church has cost about £1000, and their receipts thus far amount to between £700 and £800. If their statement of accounts is presently laid before the wider Unitarian public, we trust they will be helped soon to acquit themselves of the present debt, if not further enabled to set about their intended school-room, an essential appendage, as we think, of every Unitarian church.

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OPENING OF THE NEW SCHOOL-ROOM AT ISLINGTON.

This beautiful room, which combines very happily the secular and the ecclesiastical style, was opened by a social meeting of the Carter-Lane congregation and their friends on the evening of Tuesday, Dec. 18. A crowded meeting, of the most respectable and impressive kind which the metropolitan Unitarian congregations could supply, attested the respect universally felt for the minister of Carter Lane and sympathy with the noble objects proposed by his flock. The school-room is built on the lower part of the excellent site secured for the purpose some time since. The site still left vacant is designed for the chapel, which is hereafter to be built in lieu of that at Carter Lane. The building looked very beautiful, and many congratulations were offered to Mr. T. C. Clarke, the architect, on the success of his work. After tea and coffee had been served, the chair was taken by Rev. Henry Ierson, who was surrounded by many of his personal friends, including Mr. Ald. Clarke Lawrence, Mr. Chamberlain and Capt. Mercer, nearly all the Unitarian ministers of London, and Rev. E. Kell, of Southampton. After a few opening words from Mr. Ierson, welcoming his assembled friends, Rev. Thos. Madge gave graceful utterance to and enlarged on the common wish of all the company, that "God may bless the services of this place to the advancement of the cause of truth and righteousness." The sentiment was spoken to also by Rev. J. J. Tayler, whose appearance among his friends after his recent illness was hailed by the Chairman and the whole assembly with congratulation. Dr. Cromwell, as the nearest neighbour of the new Islington congregation, also joined in supporting the sentiment. Alderman Clarke Lawrence then spoke with his accustomed force to the sentiment, "Mutual sympathy and help the uniting bond of Christian fellowship." He stated that a debt of £260 remained on the building, and that the efforts made by the congregation entitled them to the help of friends of other congregations. The Chairman said that about £680 had been raised by the congregation towards rearing the building. Rev. R. B. Aspland spoke to the sentiment, "Definite principles without compulsory creeds," and expressing his conviction of the important accession gained to the Unitarian church in the services of Mr. Ierson, bade him God-speed in his noble work. Rev. James Martineau then delighted the assembled friends of truth and freedom by a profound and deeply interesting speech on "The harmony of all truth—rational Christianity the want and hope of the world." Rev. William Forster next spoke (and his speech was listened to with breathless attention) on the theme, "Religious liberty, freedom of thought, under the guidance of Christian sentiment." Rev. J. Panton Ham succeeded in a very effective speech, the text of which was, "The institutions of the Church—Christian activity the natural fruit of Christian devotion." Rev. J. C. Means then gave utterance to some admirable thoughts founded on the sentiment, "Practical religion the proper aim and duty of the Church—Christian duty on the basis of Christian principle." As a brother minister from a distant part of the country, Rev. Edmund Kell joined in the congratulations to Rev. Henry Ierson and his flock. The last sentiment was enforced by Rev. T. L. Marshall, and was, "Sympathy with all forms of sincere endeavour to find and diffuse the light of truth." From first to last, the interest of the meeting never for a moment flagged, and there was, with occasional variety of opinion, an unbroken harmony of sentiment. The meeting was pleasant and eminently calculated to be useful. Vocal and instrumental music, chiefly by the choir of the Kentish Town Free Church, diversified very agreeably the proceedings of the evening.—The religious services in the room will begin, we believe, on the evening of the first Sunday in the year.

DONCASTER.

The Rev. William Elliot has just concluded a course of Sunday-evening lectures at Doncaster, which we are glad to say have been better attended than at any previous period of this chapel. There was not room in the chapel some evenings for the people that came, many having to go away. The whole of the institutions connected with this place of worship are prospering. The Sunday and day schools are both increasing in numbers. Many of the intelligent and active employés at the large engine-works of the Great Northern Railway here have become members, and are lending a kind hand with the Sunday-school. In looking at the chapel and school-room, we thought it very desirable that a new building should be erected for worship and educational purposes, and were pleased to hear from the minister that such had been resolved on, and that a subscription-list was already opened for the purpose of the erection of a new Unitarian chapel at Doncaster, capable of holding double the number of the present building, and the old chapel to be then made into a school-room. Mr. Elliot's earnestness and success at Doncaster, where our cause had fallen to the very lowest point, entitle him to our thanks and sympathy. We are sure our friends throughout the country will be glad to hear of our church improvement in this town.

REV. WILLIAM FORSTER AND HIS CONGREGATION.

It is with no small gratification that we point attention to the address in our advertising pages of Mr. Forster, announcing the liquidation of the debt which has hitherto rested on the new chapel at Kentish Town. This is an event creditable to the energy and pulpit power of the pastor, the zeal of the flock and the generosity of their friends. It augurs well for the future services which Mr. Forster will be as able as willing to render to the cause of Unitarian Christianity. We trust the time is coming when every important suburb of London will have its chapel devoted, like that at Kentish Town, to the cause of a true and free and practical religion; and happy indeed would it make us to see all the metropolitan Unitarian congregations under a ministry as successful as that of the pastor at Kentish Town.

WHAT CHURCHMEN SAY OF SOME OF THEIR BISHOPS.

The recent vacancy on the Bench of Bishops, the appointment of the Hon. and Rev. — Waldegrave as Bishop of Carlisle, have led to some smart writing in the newspapers. The *Saturday Review* says, "All the recent Bishops have been reverend and honourable gentlemen, cadets of the noble Whig families, with plenty of blood and very little Greek,—Hon. and Rev. Villiers, Hon. and Rev. Pelham, Hon. and Rev. Baring, Hon. and Rev. Waldegrave, and even Dr. Bickersteth, a law lord's nephew. * * * The Bishops appointed by Lord Palmerston have absolutely no qualification for the office except the slenderest literary attainments, family and political influence, and the profession of the narrowest and most debasing form of religion. Let anybody read—if he can—Bishop Waldegrave's Bampton Lectures, and he will see perhaps the most melancholy instance of the debasement of the mind which has yet discredited the religious press. Let him peruse the questions privately addressed by Bishop Villiers to candidates for orders, and he will find an attempt at deliberate and exclusive partizanship, and an attack on the freedom of thought in the Church of England, quite equal to the worst excesses of the Roman Index.

"Of Evangelical Bishops and parsons generally," the same authority observes, "we consider their views narrow, their knowledge of what constitutes true religion confined and debased. The men are sectarian, bigoted and persecuting in spirit, and their homilies and teaching are, generally speaking, an affront to those intellectual powers which, with every good and perfect gift, we believe to come down from the Father of Light.

"What the Bishops are the clergy have the strongest inducements to become. The clergy, again, influence much of the thought, the freedom, the domestic peace and the inner life of English society. It will be a bad day for England, and a worse day for the Church of England, when all the intellect and intelligence of the country are permanently divorced from the Church. The result will be the same here as it is in France. It matters not two straws that in the one case it is Ultramontanism, in the other it is Evangelicalism, which is permitted to rule. Both are equal treason to the freedom of thought, both are equal affronts to human intelligence and intellectual freedom. As tyrannies and bigotries, Evangelicalism and Ultramontanism are identical."

A CHEERING NOTE.

Although the signs are cheering in every quarter, it is within these isles that there

is the chief cause for gratulation. The British empire now offers a spectacle of happiness and content which, though no doubt due partly to natural causes, is in a very high degree the work of wise legislation. The old couplet about kings and laws has proved a fallacy. Kings and laws have cured many of the ills which the British people endured. Men have been able to use their opportunities and to advance in well-being, because the Legislature has redressed social inequalities, removed unjust restrictions, done away with the disabilities of religion, race and geographical position, and forbidden zealots of any party to oppress and insult their adversaries. The misery, the discontent, the insane hatreds which prevailed in this island forty years ago, are now almost unintelligible."—*The Times*, Dec. 26.

MINISTERIAL REMOVAL.

Rev. John Owen will on the 1st of July complete a ministry of fifteen years' duration at Lydgate, near Huddersfield. He has intimated to his friends there his purpose, on account of the health of his lady, to remove at that time to Whitby, where he will re-open the ancient Presbyterian chapel, and gather around his services the remains of the former congregation, and we hope will add to it new elements of strength.

# OBITUARY.

Nov. 23, at Inverness Road, Bayswater, in her 77th year, RUTH, the beloved wife of Mr. Samuel RIDGE. She was the last survivor of the family of the late Mr. Joseph Ridge, a medical practitioner of considerable repute in the town of Lewes. By her death, the family of her mother, the Snashalls, of Lewes, becomes extinct. She was brought up under Unitarian influences, and, together with the other members of her family, gave for many years a hearty support to Unitarian worship at the Westgate chapel in her native town. She continued to reside at Lewes until her marriage to her cousin, Mr. Samuel Ridge, in 1833. Entering on the important duties of this new relation, she discharged them, both to her husband and to the members of his family, with equal fidelity and tenderness, and won the respect and love of her husband's children. There were united in her strength of principle and sweetness of temper. Her natural kindness and gentleness were strengthened by the holy influences of her religious convictions. The mild and benignant teachings of the Saviour were congenial to her understanding and feelings, and her life afforded a pleasing illustration of the power of Unitarian Christianity in promoting domestic peace and securing the higher attainments of practical religion. She was for many years a member of the Hackney congregation, and was on terms of intimate friendship (a friendship strengthened by a family alliance) with her pastor, the late Rev. Robert Aspland. Her life was not unmingled with sorrows, but she received and improved the trials appointed to her by her Heavenly Father with a patience and gentleness that bespoke the heartfelt influences of her Christian faith. Her last years were marked by much weakness and a continued decline; but all was borne with untiring fortitude and a sweetness of temper most touching to those who knew and loved her best. Her remains were placed in the family vault at Hackney, near which are deposited those of a brother and sister, whom she had loved and mourned. The sorrows of those who followed her to her last resting-place are happily soothed alike by recollections of the past and the hopes that the Christian mind is enabled to mingle with the future.

Nov. 26, at Hampstead, in her 73rd year, Mrs. ELIZABETH BOWMAN, of Victoria Park, Manchester, widow of the late J. E. Bowman, Esq., of Manchester, and formerly of the Court, near Wrexham.

Nov. 28, at Evesham, Worcestershire, aged 81 years, Rev. TIMOTHY DAVIS, for many years minister of the Unitarian congregation at Evesham, and previously of Coventry. Of this estimable and very useful minister, the friend of the late Mr. Field, Mr. Aspland and Mr. Kentish, and who has himself gone to his last rest with the profound respect and regret of his fellow-townsmen and of an unusually wide circle of friends, we are authorized to say that a suitable Memoir is about to be prepared, to appear in an early number of the *Christian Reformer*.